



CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY
Special Report

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SOCIAL SCIENCES J

CONGRESS - 1960

A Legislative Review of the 86th Congress - 2nd Session

(Including Key Votes of All Members)

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Part II supplementing Weekly Report No. 39, published in two parts, Sept. 23, 1960

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CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY INCORPORATED

The Authoritative Reference on Congress

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Congressional Boxscore

MAJOR LEGISLATION IN 86th CONGRESS

As of Adjournment, Sept. 1, 1960

Party Lineups

As of Sept. 16, 1960

	Dem.	GOP	Vacancies
SENATE	65	34	1
HOUSE	280	151	6

BILL	HOUSE		SENATE		STATUS
Federal Education Aid (S 8) (HR 10128)	Reported 3/25/60	Passed 5/26/60	Reported 9/12/59	Passed 2/4/60	
Student Disclaimer Affidavit (S 2929)	Hearings Completed		Reported 5/12/60	Passed 6/16/60	
Depressed Areas (S 722)	Reported 5/14/59	Passed 5/4/60	Reported 3/18/59	Passed 3/23/59	Vetoed 5/13/60
Civil Rights (HR 8601)	Reported 8/20/59	Passed 3/24/60	Reported 3/29/60	Passed 4/8/60	PL 86-449 5/6/60
International Dvpt. Assn. (HR 11001)	Reported 6/8/60	Passed 6/29/60	Reported 5/13/60	Passed 6/29/60	PL 86-565 6/30/60
Rivers and Harbors (HR 7634)	Reported 6/12/59	Passed 7/16/59	Reported 6/6/60	Passed 6/17/60	PL 86-645 7/14/60
Emergency Housing (HR 10213)	Reported 3/15/60	Passed 4/28/60	Hearings Completed		
Omnibus Housing (S 3670) (HR 12603)	Reported 6/20/60		Reported 6/14/60	Passed 6/16/60	
Veterans' Benefits (S 1138) (HR 2258)	Hearings Completed		Reported 7/14/59	Passed 7/21/59	
Social Security (HR 12580)	Reported 6/13/60	Passed 6/23/60	Reported 8/19/60	Passed 8/23/60	PL 86-778 9/13/60
Minimum Wage (HR 12677)	Reported 6/22/60	Passed 6/30/60	Reported 6/27/60	Passed 8/18/60	Left in Conference
Common-Site Picketing (S 2643) (HR 9070)	Reported 4/27/60		Hearings Completed		
Wheat Bill (S 2759) (HR 12261)	Reported 5/20/60	Rejected 6/23/60	Reported 5/2/60	Passed 6/9/60	
Sugar Act Extension (HR 12311)	Reported 6/6/60	Passed 6/30/60	Reported 7/1/60	Passed 7/3/60	PL 86-592 7/6/60
Mutual Security Program (HR 11510)	Reported 4/7/60	Passed 4/21/60	Reported 4/22/60	Passed 5/2/60	PL 86-472 5/14/60
Mutual Security Funds (HR 12619)	Reported 6/13/60	Passed 6/17/60	Reported 8/19/60	Passed 8/24/60	PL 86-704 9/2/60
Corporate, Excise Taxes (HR 12381)	Reported 5/31/60	Passed 6/8/60	Reported 6/16/60	Passed 6/20/60	PL 86-564 6/30/60
Postal Rate Increase (S 3192) (HR 11140)	Hearings Completed				
Gas Tax Increase					
Regulatory Agency Rules (S 2374) (HR 12731)	Reported 7/1/60		Hearings Completed		
Clean Elections (S 2436)			Reported 7/23/59	Passed 1/25/60	
Federal Pay Raise (HR 9883)	Reported 5/23/60	Passed 6/15/60	Reported 6/15/60	Passed 6/17/60	PL 86-568 7/1/60
Foreign Investments (S 3251, 3252) (HR 5)	Reported 2/19/60	Passed 5/18/60	Hearings Completed		
Bond Interest Rates (S 2813) (HR 10590)	Reported 2/29/60				
International Court Powers (S Res 94)	No House Action Needed		Hearings Completed		
Stop-Gap Housing (HJ Res 784)		Passed 8/31/60		Passed 8/31/60	PL 86-788 9/14/60
Dominican Sugar Bill (HR 13062)	Reported 8/29/60	Passed 8/30/60	Reported 8/31/60	Passed 9/1/60	

CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY

A service for editors and standard reference on U.S. Congress

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Congress - 1960

Meager Output Reflected Inability of Parties To Pursue Compromise in Fateful Election Year

Leaving behind a record of indifferent accomplishment and spirited partisanship, the second session of the 86th Congress adjourned Sept. 1, 1960 at 11:51 p.m. The sixth year of divided government had been the least rewarding for the nation, for President Eisenhower, and for the Democratic majority in Congress.

Weighed against the slim fruits of the 1960 session were acres of unharvested production, blighted by the rust of political schism. Only a fresh mandate from the voters on Nov. 8 -- confidently sought by both parties -- offered hope of fulfilling the promises made at the party nominating conventions which interrupted the 1960 Congressional session.

When the 1960 session opened Jan. 6, the eyes of party leaders on both sides of the aisle were firmly fixed on two dates six months hence: the nominating conventions of the Democratic and Republican parties. What's more, the three serious candidates for the Democratic nomination and the only contender for the GOP spot were all gathered in the Senate. Under the circumstances, a truce was out of the question and the prospects for compromise severely limited.

What ensued only confirmed this gloomy outlook. It also pointed up the extent of the split between Democratic liberals and Southern conservatives, whose coalition with Republicans proved highly effective in sewing up or watering down some of the majority party's most cherished legislation. Not so strong as to be able to put over disputed portions of the President's program, the coalition was nonetheless able to exert a power of veto fully as strong as that of the Chief Executive.

This became most apparent when Congress resumed work Aug. 8 after recessing July 3 for the conventions. As the Democratic Presidential and Vice Presidential nominees, committed to a vigorously liberal platform, Sens. John F. Kennedy (Mass.) and Lyndon B. Johnson (Texas) found themselves blocked by the coalition on each of the three bills to which they were pledged: medical care for the aged, school aid, and minimum wage. Presiding over their discomfort yet out of reach was their chief antagonist, Vice President Richard M. Nixon, the GOP nominee.

Highlights of the major legislative developments of the year included the following.

Foreign Policy: Congress wound up by cutting the President's mutual security request by about 11 percent -- less than in 1959. Rapidly worsening relations with Cuba helped to put over another of his requests, for authority to cut Cuba's profitable U.S. sugar quota. Congress also authorized a new aid program for Latin America, approved U.S. participation in the International Development Assn., and ratified a new security treaty with Japan.

National Security: After protracted and critical hearings on the nation's defense effort, Democrats

agreed that it was inadequate and added more than \$600 million to the Administration's \$41-billion military budget. But they couldn't force the President to spend the extra money, most of which was frozen by the Budget Bureau.

Economic Policy: Democrats wouldn't hear of granting the President authority to raise interest rates on Government bonds. Nor would they agree to raise postal rates or increase the federal gas tax. But the President won postponement of scheduled tax reductions and a temporary increase in the ceiling on the public debt. Only one of his antitrust requests -- for the regulation of bank mergers -- was approved.

Civil Benefits: Much hullabaloo about extending medical care benefits to the aged through the social security system was boiled down, in the end, to a bill giving the states \$200 million to improve their benefit programs for the needy. Both houses passed major school aid programs, but the coalition blocked compromise of the two bills. President Eisenhower vetoed his second area development bill, and the Senate failed to override. Omnibus housing legislation, passed by the Senate, was killed by the House Rules Committee. Nor was action completed on a minimum wage bill; two versions of the measure died in conference. The Senate and the House also acted on different versions of a wheat bill, and neither survived.

General Government: It took the Senate two months to complete its debate, but Congress finally agreed to a limited voting rights bill designed to help Negroes to register. Also enacted -- over the President's veto -- was an \$800-million pay raise for federal employees. Payola was outlawed as a popular pastime, but Democrats scenting victory in November wouldn't agree to pass a bill creating a flock of federal judgeships before the election.

Details of these and other legislative issues during the second session of the 86th Congress appear on succeeding pages, followed by selected key votes for all Members. See inside back cover for detailed index.

Foreign Policy

New Crises Boosted MSP Funds to \$3.8 Billion

Criticism of the 10-year-old Mutual Security Program showed no signs of flagging in 1960, but when the shouting was over Congress had given the President substantially more money than in 1959, when a smaller request had been cut by \$700 million. The reason: a perceptible increase in East-West tensions (see next page), which also served to spur approval of new programs for economic assistance to Latin America and other underdeveloped areas.

Apart from the sums involved, no great changes were proposed by the President in his Feb. 16 message asking \$4,175,000,000 for MSP in fiscal 1961. Of this, almost one-half (\$2 billion) was for military aid, for which Congress had voted only \$1.3 billion in 1959. Other major items were \$724 million for defense support (economic grants to Spain and 11 countries bordering the Sino-Soviet bloc); \$268 million for special assistance (economic grants to other areas); \$172 million for technical assistance; \$700 million for the Development Loan Fund, and \$175 million for contingencies.

Authorization: The traditional authorization-appropriation cycle -- giving Congress two whacks at MSP each year -- was modified in 1960, since the legislators had agreed in 1959 to authorize \$1.1 billion for the Development Loan Fund in fiscal 1961 and "such sums as may be necessary" for military aid in 1961 and 1962. New authorizations, therefore, were needed for less than \$1.5 billion of the President's MSP request.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee started off by cutting \$136.5 million from this amount, and the House concurred April 21, by a 243-130 roll-call vote. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee then voted to restore most of the House cuts. In Senate debate starting April 27, critics of MSP offered a batch of restrictive amendments requiring 20 roll calls. The Senate refused, 27-32, to set a ceiling of \$1.8 billion on military assistance, but agreed, 48-40, to cut the contingency fund by \$20 million. No effort was made to revive the proposal, rejected in 1959, to give the DLF long-term borrowing authority of \$1 billion a year.

As passed by the Senate May 2, by a 60-25 vote, the bill authorized \$1.4 billion. The two chambers then agreed May 12 to a compromise of \$1,366,200,000 which was about \$89 million under the President's request. Offsetting this relatively generous sum, however, were a number of new program restrictions, including one designed to penalize the United Arab Republic for its economic blockade against Israel.

Appropriation: Two days before the ill-fated summit meeting of May 16, Rep. Otto E. Passman (D La.), chairman of the House Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee, charged that MSP was riddled with "corruption, scandal and blackmail" and

warned that his group would cut up to \$1.5 billion from the request. Passman's blast was met with heavy counter-fire by Administration spokesmen, which intensified as the Appropriations Committee June 13 reported a \$3.4 billion bill, almost \$800 million under the request. One-half of the cut was in military aid, for which \$1.6 billion was recommended.

As House debate began June 16, President Eisenhower's impending visit to Japan was cancelled in the face of mass rioting in Tokyo (see below). The House promptly agreed, 212-173, to restore \$200 million of the military aid cut. (See House Roll Call No. 5, page 26). A provision barring aid to the Indus Basin development project in India and Pakistan, was also dropped before the House voted 259-124 to send the \$3.6 billion bill to the Senate.

By the time Congress reconvened after its July convention recess, a new crisis had boiled up in the Congo, which gained its independence from Belgium June 30 only to face anarchy when its army mutinied and began terrorizing Belgian and other white residents. Congolese Premier Patrice Lumumba first appealed for U.S. troops, which President Eisenhower refused. But the United Nations Security Council voted July 14 to organize and dispatch a UN military force drawn largely from other African nations. When the Senate returned to work Aug. 8, the President asked for another \$100 million in MSP contingency funds "to keep America poised for sudden developments such as those in the Congo where a United States airlift and other efforts were needed suddenly and critically."

Supplemental: The Senate Appropriations Committee granted this request and, in addition, approved restoration of all of the House cuts except the \$200 million reduction in military aid, bringing the bill reported Aug. 19 up to almost \$4 billion. The Senate concurred Aug. 24, with minimum debate, by a 67-26 vote. But in conference the measure was chopped to \$3.7 billion, eliciting a plea from the President to Senate and House leaders to reject the compromise. Both chambers, however, approved the report Aug. 26, after assurances that additional funds might be included in a pending supplemental bill, also passed by the House Aug. 26.

Committee amendments adding \$190 million in MSP funds to this measure were approved by the Senate Aug. 29, by a vote of 56-31. (See Senate Roll Call No. 10, page 23) The House voted 203-193 to accept a \$65 million increase for defense support, but rejected the other additions, and the Senate agreed. Congress thus appropriated \$3,781,350,000 for MSP, or almost \$500 million less than the revised request of \$4,275,000,000. The 11 percent cut was about par for the tricky mutual security course.

Summit Foundered on Wreckage of "Spy Flight"

The American tour of Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev in September 1959 had seemed to herald an era of reduced East-West tension. One year later, however, the "spirit of Camp David" had vanished without a trace, and the United States and the Soviet Union were again at loggerheads across the board. The events of May 1-16 marked the turning point in devastating fashion.

The U-2 Affair: With the long-awaited summit meeting between President Eisenhower, Khrushchev, Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, and President Charles de Gaulle scheduled to open May 16 in Paris, the world was startled when the Soviet Premier announced May 5 that on May 1 an American plane had been shot down over the Soviet Union. In Washington, the Government said the plane might be a missing U-2 on a high altitude weather mission from a base in Turkey. "There was no deliberate attempt to violate Soviet air space and there never has been," said a State Department spokesman.

On May 7, however, Khrushchev let the cat out of the bag. The U-2 pilot (Francis Gary Powers) had been captured and had confessed that he was on a 4,000-mile photo reconnaissance flight from Pakistan to Norway when downed 1,200 miles within the Soviet borders. Powers, said Khrushchev, had admitted that he was employed by the C.I.A.. Caught in what looked like a barefaced lie, the State Department said "there was no authorization" from Washington for such a flight.

Two days later, Secretary of State Christian A. Herter did an about-face and announced that at the President's direction the U.S. had engaged in "extensive aerial surveillance by unarmed civilian aircraft" along the borders and over the Soviet Union in order "to overcome this danger of surprise attack." On May 11, President Eisenhower took full responsibility for ordering the overflights as a "distasteful but vital necessity."

The Summit: In a three-hour meeting of the Big Four May 16, Khrushchev denounced the May 1 "spy flight" and laid down his terms: the conference could proceed only on condition that the United States declare that it "will not violate the state borders of the U.S.S.R. with its aircraft, that it deplores the provocative actions undertaken in the past, and will punish those directly guilty of such actions." He proposed a six-to-eight-month postponement, and cancelled his invitation to the President to visit Russia June 10.

The President replied that the overflights had already been suspended and would not be continued. But he told Khrushchev that "his ultimatum would never be acceptable to the United States," and charged that the Soviets had come to Paris "with the sole intention of sabotaging this meeting." The conference promptly collapsed, and the leaders withdrew to their capitals in a hurricane of mutual

recrimination. The United Nations Security Council, urged by the Soviets to condemn the "aggressive" U.S. overflights, rejected the resolution May 26, by a 7-2 vote, with two abstentions.

Meanwhile, Democrats and Republicans traded punches over U.S. responsibility for the summit collapse, and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee launched a closed-door inquiry into the U-2 affair. In a report released June 25, the Committee concluded that if it was Khrushchev's purpose to wreck the summit meeting "the U-2 incident made his task easier." Given no "compelling reasons" by the Administration for the May 1 mission, the Committee decided that "there is good reason to conclude that the flight should not have gone." As for the conflicting official statements of May 5, 7, and 9, "what was most lacking in this period" was direction from the top.

Second Incident: On July 11, the Soviet Union announced that on July 1 a second U.S. plane had been shot down over Soviet waters north of Archangel, and that two members of the RB-47's six-man crew had been picked up. Again the UN Security Council was asked to condemn "these continuing provocative activities." The U.S., however, denied that the plane had penetrated Soviet jurisdiction, and the Council voted 9-2 to reject the Soviet resolution. The Soviets announced plans to try the two captured crewmen, and proceeded to carry out their intention to try Powers, the U-2 pilot, who was judged guilty Aug. 19 and sentenced to 10 years in prison.

Disarmament: Collapse of the summit conference also signaled the end of disarmament talks, which had been resumed March 15 in Geneva after a two-and-one-half year lapse. As the 10-nation conference opened, there appeared to be little chance of bridging the gap between Soviet and U.S. positions, and the talks were suspended April 29 pending the outcome of the summit meeting. The conference was resumed June 7, only to end June 27 when Communist delegates walked out charging the West with refusal to negotiate. The problem was sent Aug. 16 to the 82-nation UN Disarmament Commission.

Test Ban: Negotiations for a treaty to prohibit further tests of nuclear weapons, begun in 1958 by the U.S., Britain, and the Soviet Union, continued at Geneva in 1960 with limited but perceptible progress. The Soviets March 20 gave conditional approval to a U.S. proposal for a ban on underground tests above a minimum level, as well as all above-ground tests. By the time Congress adjourned, however, the negotiators were still divided regarding the length of any voluntary moratorium on undetectable tests, the quota of annual on-site inspections to be permitted to each side, and the staffing of the proposed international control commission.

Latin America

Relations between the United States and Latin America, soured by a number of disputes in recent years, were further disrupted in 1960 by a bitter quarrel between Fidel Castro's regime in Cuba and the State Department. To demonstrate U.S. sympathy for the economic aspirations of the other American Republics, President Eisenhower visited Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay during a 10-day trip, Feb. 23-March 3. Later he proposed a new program of "social overhead" loans, for which he asked and received Congressional endorsement. But relations with Cuba continued to deteriorate.

Cuba: In a policy statement Jan. 26, the President accused the Castro regime of seeking "to create the illusion of aggressive acts and conspiratorial activities" directed by the U.S. against Cuba, but he expressed hope that a "workable and satisfactory relationship" could be worked out. The hoped-for talks failed to materialize, however, and in his April 8 reply to a critical letter from students in Chile, the President described Castro's increasingly dictatorial actions as "a betrayal" of the ideals of his 1959 revolution against the Batista regime. What bothered Washington most, however, were Castro's growing ties with Moscow and Peking.

When Congress agreed to cut Cuba's sugar quota after Castro had seized most U.S.-owned investments in Cuba (see below), Soviet Premier Khrushchev warned July 9 that he would use rockets if necessary to prevent U.S. intervention in Cuba. President Eisenhower replied at once that the U.S. would neither "be deterred from its responsibilities" by Khrushchev's threats, nor "permit the establishment of a regime dominated by international Communism in the Western Hemisphere." The U.S. and Cuba then took their dispute before the Organization of American States, which proceeded to condemn Communist intervention in hemisphere affairs, in the "Declaration of San Jose, Costa Rica," adopted Aug. 28.

Sugar Act: With about one-third of the U.S. sugar market allotted to Cuba by law, pressure quickly developed in Congress to revise the Sugar Act, due to expire Dec. 31, 1960. The Administration itself asked for a four-year extension, plus Presidential authority to reduce the quota of any foreign producer other than the Philippines. But a simple one-year extension was favored by Rep. Harold D. Cooley (D N.C.), chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, and that was substantially the bill reported June 6. Three weeks later, the Committee reversed itself and voted to grant the President authority to give Cuba whatever quota he decided.

The House passed the bill June 30, 395-0. But the Senate, also by unanimous vote of 84-0 July 2, passed instead a resolution simply empowering the President to determine Cuba's quota for the balance of 1960. House leaders refused to accept it, however, and the Senate, warned that the President would call the recess-bound Congress back into session the

following week, then passed an amended version of the House bill. As finally approved July 3, the measure extended the Sugar Act through March 31, 1961 and gave the President full authority to fix Cuba's quota. By proclamation July 6, he cut the original Cuban quota of 3.1 million tons for 1960 by 700,000 tons.

On Aug. 23 the President asked Congress for authority to withhold a 320,000-ton quota allotted under the July 3 law to the Dominican Republic, which had been censured Aug. 20 by the OAS for its actions against Venezuela. Again the House and Senate passed conflicting legislation, but no compromise was found before adjournment.

Aid Program: On Aug. 8 the President requested a \$600-million authorization to help "strengthen the social and economic structure" of the nations of Latin America and to help rehabilitate Chile, devastated by earthquakes in May. Although critical of the vagueness of the Administration's aid plan, which the U.S. hoped to present to an economic conference in Bogota Sept. 5, the Senate passed the authorization bill Aug. 19, by a 54-19 vote. House action Aug. 31 sent it to the President.

New Loan Agency

The United States took another major step in 1960 toward the multilateral approach to economic aid, when Congress endorsed U.S. participation in the International Development Association, a concept first proposed in 1956 by Sen. A. S. Mike Monroney (D Okla.) and recommended by the Senate in 1958. Following approval of IDA by other members of the World Bank in 1959, President Eisenhower asked Congress Feb. 18 to authorize U.S. membership and provide an initial contribution of \$74 million.

Designed to operate as an affiliate of the World Bank but to extend loans on easier terms than those required by its parent agency, IDA was to receive \$1 billion in capital subscriptions over a period of five years. Of that amount, \$763 million would be supplied by 17 hard-currency countries, with the U.S. contributing \$320 million. The remaining sum of \$237 million (of which only 10 percent would be in gold or dollars) would be pledged by 51 soft-currency nations, including those most in need of development aid. In economic terms, then, IDA was a device for transferring additional resources from the richer to the poorer countries, while giving the debtors as well as creditors a voice in the plan.

The Senate June 2 approved a bill authorizing the President to accept membership in IDA after voting 39-33 to bar gifts of U.S.-owned foreign currencies to IDA unless specifically approved by Congress. The House, however, deleted this provision before passing the bill June 29 by a 249-158 vote, and the Senate quickly concurred. The initial U.S. payment of \$73,666,700 was provided in a supplemental bill approved July 2, and on Aug. 9 the U.S. formally signed up as a member of IDA.

Pact with Japan

President Eisenhower and the United States Senate, often at odds over foreign policy, found themselves sharing the role of innocent bystander in the dramatic events surrounding ratification of a new 10-year security treaty between the U.S. and Japan. Signed in Washington Jan. 19 and all-but-unopposed in Congress, the pact generated such controversy in Japan as to force Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi to cancel the President's visit to Tokyo, and then to resign.

The new treaty, replacing one ratified in 1952 along with the Japanese Peace Treaty, removed remaining traces of Japan's post-war occupation status. Articles permitting the use of U.S. troops to put down riots in Japan and forbidding Japan to grant military rights to a third power without U.S. consent were deleted. The U.S. agreed to consult Japan "whenever the security of Japan or international peace and security in the Far East is threatened," and to aid Japan in the event of armed attack. In turn, Japan granted the U.S. "the use by its land, air and naval forces" of Japanese bases. Japan's ultimate rights to the Ryukyu and Bonin island groups, administered by the U.S. since World War II, were reaffirmed in a separate communique.

In Japan, the treaty was greeted by a barrage of criticism from Socialists and Social Democrats, who objected particularly to the 10-year extension of U.S. base rights. Following approval of the treaty May 19 by the lower house of the Japanese Diet, all 125 Socialist members resigned in an effort to force the Kishi government's downfall and prevent final ratification of the treaty, which was due to take effect June 19 unless disapproved by the upper chamber.

In the face of continued rioting against the treaty by members of the SOHYO labor federation, the Zengakuren student organization and the Socialist party, Prime Minister Kishi concluded that he couldn't guarantee President Eisenhower's safety during his forthcoming visit and withdrew the invitation June 16. Urged by Secretary of State Herter to ratify the treaty without delay, the Senate did so June 22, by a 90-2 vote, over the complaint of Sen. Russell B. Long (D La.) that it was "entirely a one-way street." Instruments of ratification were exchanged in Tokyo the same day, whereupon Kishi announced that he would dissolve his government and call for new elections.

Other foreign policy issues raised in 1960:

Antarctic Treaty: The Senate was somewhat less unanimous in supporting a treaty signed Dec. 1, 1959 by the United States, Soviet Union and 10 other countries to ensure permanent use of Antarctica for peaceful purposes. Terms of the treaty prohibited all military activity in the area, opened it to complete inspection at any time by any signatory, and froze all existing territorial claims. Favorably reported June

23 by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the treaty came to the floor in August. Opponents argued that the treaty opened the way for Soviet gains at U.S. expense and moved to defer further consideration until Jan. 25, 1961, after the next President had taken office. But the motion was rejected, 29-56 (D 24-30; R 5-26), and the treaty was approved Aug. 10, by a vote of 66-21.

World Court: The President asked the Senate Jan. 7 to repeal the Connally amendment to the 1946 law authorizing U.S. membership in the International Court of Justice. The amendment reserved to the U.S. the right to determine for itself which matters were of domestic concern and therefore outside the Court's jurisdiction. After hearings, the Foreign Relations Committee March 29 voted 9-8 to postpone further action indefinitely in the face of evidence that a floor fight would split the Senate, and no more was heard of repeal. Another clue to the split on this issue was furnished May 26 when the Senate, for the first time in the Eisenhower Administration, voted to reject a minor law-of-the-sea treaty agreeing to accept Court jurisdiction without the "self-judging" Connally reservation. The vote of 49-30 (D 32-18; R 17-12) for ratification was four short of the required two-thirds majority.

Foreign Investment: An attempt to stimulate private investment abroad by tax incentives was also fated to fail, partly because of rising fears of foreign competition. A bill to permit deferral of taxes on earnings from investments in underdeveloped countries barely passed the House May 18, by a vote of 196-192. (See House Roll Call No. 3, p. 24) But the Senate Finance Committee agreed Aug. 31 to kill the bill, which lacked Treasury approval.

Atlantic Convention: Proponents of a greater integration of interests within the Atlantic community won a minor victory when Congress approved a measure authorizing appointment of a U.S. Citizens Commission of 20 members to meet unofficially with similar groups from other NATO countries in 1961. The resolution, authorizing expenses of \$300,000, was passed by the Senate June 15, by a 51-44 vote, and by the House Aug. 23, by a vote of 288-103.

Immigration: In a special message March 17, the President again asked Congress to liberalize the immigration quota system, but the request was again ignored. Instead Congress sent him a bill July 2 authorizing the admission of a limited number of refugees still under United Nations care in Europe. Only one-fourth of the total number resettled in other countries would be admitted to the U.S.

Miscellany: Congress also agreed to extend the Export Control Act of 1949 through June 30, 1962; to amend the Foreign Service Act of 1946, raising personnel standards and expanding retirement and disability programs; and to authorize an agreement for joint U.S.-Mexican construction of the Amistad storage dam on the Rio Grande. But a 1959 agreement with Austria for the return of \$6 million in confiscated property was pigeonholed in the Senate.

Democrats Question Adequacy of Arms Budget

Was \$41 billion enough to maintain an adequate deterrent to war, whether general or local? No one could know for certain, but Democrats, convinced that it was not enough, mounted a sustained offensive against the President's defense budget the moment it hit Congress. For weeks thereafter, one committee after another quizzed Secretary of Defense Thomas S. Gates Jr. and his civilian and military subordinates, searching for evidence to support the indictment of "inadequacy." Months later Congress voted a substantial increase in defense funds; at adjournment, however, the extra money was still frozen and the nation's defense posture had become a major campaign issue.

As in 1959, when Congress also voted more money than the President wanted to spend, Democrats got much of their ammunition from military commanders dissatisfied with their share of the pie. All three service chiefs -- the Army's Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer, the Navy's Admiral Arleigh A. Burke, and the Air Force's Gen. Thomas D. White -- swore allegiance to the President's fiscal 1961 request but readily admitted that they had asked for more money to do their assigned jobs. Their subordinates, in many cases, were even more outspoken.

Missile Gap

Much of the 1960 debate concerned the nation's vulnerability to a Soviet missile attack at a time when U.S. Atlas missiles were just beginning to enter the Strategic Air Command's arsenal and no anti-missile defense system was in view. Democrats led by Sen. Stuart Symington (Mo.) insisted that Soviet capabilities would shortly give them a 3-to-1 lead over the U.S. in ocean-spanning missiles, leaving the U.S. open to a devastating blow unless prodigious efforts were made to step up the Atlas, Titan, and Polaris programs, and to assure the survival of SAC's bomber fleets by such means as an around-the-clock airborne alert -- a step urged likewise by Gen. Thomas S. Power, SAC commander, on the premise that the Soviets would soon be able to destroy his force with a single salvo.

Secretary Gates set out to flank this attack by asserting Jan. 13 that new intelligence estimates, based on an appraisal of Soviet intentions as well as "theoretical" capabilities, indicated that the prospective missile gap would be smaller than 3-to-1. In any event, he maintained, "there is no deterrent gap." As for Gen. Power's argument, he said Feb. 1, his estimate "of mathematical probability is unrealistic." The President himself squelched Power Feb. 3 for his "parochial" views, saying "there are too many of these generals who have all sorts of ideas."

Gates' disclosure of new intelligence estimates was greeted by a chorus of caustic comments from Democrats, such as Symington's charge that "the intelligence books have been juggled so the budget books may be balanced." Secret testimony by Allen W. Dulles, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, failed in their view to confirm any basis for Gates' optimistic appraisal. Democrats agreed instead with Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, retired Army Chief of Staff, who testified Feb. 4 in behalf of a \$50 billion defense budget. Said Taylor: "The trend of relative military strength is against us. Our manned bomber force is a dwindling military asset. Our long-range missile force is limited in size, uncertain in reliability, and immobile upon exposed bases. We have no anti-missile defense in being or in sight. There is no effective fall-out protection for our civil population."

Asked Feb. 17 whether his Administration had "misled the American people" on the defense issue, as charged by some critics, President Eisenhower called the accusation "despicable" and asserted that "our defense is not only strong, it is awesome, and it is respected elsewhere." As for the unfavorable trend cited by Taylor, Gates argued March 16 that "we do not foresee a time when the Soviets could launch an attack on us without inviting unacceptable damage to themselves in return."

Whether the Democratic barrage helped to shape the decision or not, the President April 6 gave formal approval to a series of changes in the Air Force and Navy budgets which, although adding up to a net reduction of more than \$100 million in requests, were designed to bolster strategic deterrent forces. Proposed increases for the Atlas, Minuteman, Polaris, and Midas warning satellite programs were more than offset by cutbacks in the Bomarc air defense and SAGE communications systems and the elimination of two attack submarines.

Defense Funds

Four months after the onset of debate, the House Appropriations Committee April 29 reported a \$39.3 billion money bill -- almost the same amount originally asked (exclusive of military construction funds) and about \$120 million more than the revised request of April 6. But in reaching that figure, the Committee had made additions of more than \$1.5 billion and reductions of \$1.4 billion "in the expectation of better defense for the dollars expended." While boosting funds for Polaris submarines, anti-submarine warfare, an airborne alert, airlift capacity, and Army modernization, the Committee deleted a \$293-million carrier, all but killed the "very

questionable" Bomarc program, and imposed an across-the-board cut of 3 percent in procurement funds "in an effort to compel prompt remedial action" against waste. On May 5 the House passed the bill without change in amount.

The Senate Appropriations Committee proceeded then to add more than \$1 billion to the House bill. As reported June 10, the measure restored the cuts made in carrier, Bomarc, and procurement funds, added another \$285 million for development of the 2,000 m.p.h. B-70 bomber, but eliminated amounts added by the House for fighter planes and airborne alert. The Committee's changes won quick approval in the Senate, which passed the bill June 16 after adding another \$140 million to step up Army procurement and expand the Marine Corps to 200,000 men.

Conferees then put together a compromise sum of \$40 billion, or \$661.6 million more than budget estimates and \$780.7 million more than the Defense Department's revised requests. As ratified by both chambers June 30, the bill provided these major increases over the budget: \$241 million for Polaris subs, \$200 million for increased airlift, \$190 million for the B-70, \$162 million for Army modernization, \$85 million for airborne alert, and \$50 million for anti-submarine warfare. But the bill retained the 3 percent cut in procurement funds, amounting to \$400 million, decreed by the House. It also carried the full \$293 million requested for a new carrier and all but \$50 million of the \$294 million asked for Bomarc. The Senate's amendment restoring Marine Corps strength to 200,000 was dropped, but the Administration's plan to cut the Army National Guard to 360,000 men was countermanded by a provision for a mandatory strength of 400,000.

President Eisenhower maintained silence on the surgery performed by Congress, but on Aug. 8 he informed a reconvened Senate of several steps taken as the result of an "intensification of Communist truculence" during the recess. Included were orders to step up the pace of Army modernization and B-70 development and to build five instead of three new Polaris subs in fiscal 1961 -- all made possible by the additional funds provided by a Democratic Congress.

The President Aug. 10 denied that any of the extra funds voted June 30 had been "frozen" by the Administration. But Majority Leader Johnson promptly took issue, citing correspondence with Secretary Gates. This showed, said Johnson, that of \$1.1 billion withheld in a July 7 revision of Defense Department spending plans, only \$476 million was subsequently released, leaving \$621 million still frozen, or almost as much as Congress had added to the budget request. Another campaign issue was clearly in the making.

In separate action, Congress completed work June 1 on a bill authorizing almost \$1.2 billion for military construction projects. But the actual appropriation, approved July 1, was only \$995 million, or \$193 million less than requested.

Space Program

The 1960 session of Congress proved relatively uneventful for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, created in 1958 in the wake of the Soviet Union's spectacular success in launching the first "sputnik" on Oct. 4, 1957. NASA Administrator T. Keith Glennan got all the money he needed; at the same time, a series of successful U.S. launches of various types of satellites, coupled with the absence of new Soviet "spectaculars," served to keep Congress mollified concerning U.S. progress in the space race.

The President opened the year by asking Congress Jan. 14 to amend the 1958 Space Act "so as to place responsibility directly and unequivocally in one agency, NASA, for planning and managing a national program of non-military space activities." He asked the legislators to eliminate provisions in the law that reflected the concept of a single program for military as well as non-military space activities, to free the President of duties of planning and detailed review, and to abolish both the National Aeronautics and Space Council and the Civilian-Military Liaison Committee.

Hearings on the President's proposals during March, before the House Science and Astronautics Committee, revealed considerable criticism of the attempt to draw an even sharper line between civilian and military space programs. But the Committee decided to approve the requests, after adding a controversial provision giving NASA's Administrator the "discretion of acquiring title" to inventions developed by NASA contractors or of waiving title to the developers. Four Democratic members objected that this change in the exclusive patent provision of the 1958 law foreshadowed a campaign to "drive the Government out of the field of patent ownership."

House debate on the bill focused on the patent amendment, but its opponents made no progress, losing a motion to recommit with instructions to delete the amendment by a vote of 120-270 (D 120-129; R 0-141). The House then passed the bill June 9 without change. But the Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee, chaired by Majority Leader Johnson, failed to act on the measure before adjournment so it died with the session.

Funds: On Feb. 1 the President increased NASA's \$802 million budget request by \$113 million to speed development of the Saturn booster rocket -- a project transferred in 1960 from the Army Ballistic Missile Agency to NASA, along with Dr. Werner von Braun's rocket team. Congress first authorized the entire \$915 million, in action completed May 24, plus another \$50 million added by the Senate to exploit "break-throughs." Only \$915 million was actually appropriated, however, in the independent offices bill that was sent to the White House July 1. The amount was still \$391 million more than the fiscal 1960 appropriation, and foreshadowed a further jump in the space budget in fiscal 1962.

Economic Policy

"Growth" Issue Colored Fiscal-Monetary Dispute

The unrelenting battle between conservatives and liberals over national economic policy raged on without resolution during the 1960 session. Neither camp scored any significant advances in a series of skirmishes over the budget, taxes, and interest rates; each enjoyed and employed enough power to block the other's legislative schemes.

In one respect, however, the liberals achieved a modest success. Caught on the defensive in 1959 by the deceptive but effective "spenders vs. savers" slogan of the conservatives, they redoubled their efforts to shift the focus of the great debate to the broader, more complex ground of "economic growth." This endeavor was rewarded when, in July, the GOP as well as Democratic convention platform embraced the goal of a faster rate of growth.

But this modicum of agreement on the ends of economic policy served also to highlight the intensity of continuing disagreement over means. As Congress adjourned and scattered to the hustings, no issue before the country seemed so much the subject of basic partisan dispute as that of national economic policy in the coming decade.

The Budget

The 1960 debate opened Jan. 18, when President Eisenhower sent Congress an optimistic budget for fiscal 1961. He estimated expenditures at \$79.8 billion and receipts at \$84 billion, and proposed that the prospective surplus of \$4.2 billion be used to cut the public debt to \$280 billion. Democrats promptly challenged the adequacy of projected spending and the accuracy of estimated receipts, which were geared to a projected increase in gross national product from \$482 billion in calendar 1959 to \$510 billion in 1960.

At adjournment, both sides of the fiscal 1961 ledger appeared to be due for extensive revision in the light of Congressional actions and the march of events. (Results for fiscal 1960, announced on July 20, showed expenditures of \$77.3 billion, or \$1.1 billion under the January estimate, and receipts of \$78.4 billion, or \$200 million under the estimate, leaving a surplus for the year of \$1.1 billion instead of \$200 million.)

As finally enacted, regular and supplemental appropriations in 1960 totaled slightly less than the President requested (see box, page 11). This gave no assurance, however, that actual expenditures would run close to the budget estimates. Not only did Congress refuse to approve a \$555 million increase in postal rates; it insisted on raising the pay of federal employees by \$800 million, over the President's veto. Defense spending, moreover, was almost certain to rise above the \$41 billion projected in January. All told, the fiscal 1961 outlay seemed likely to pass the \$81 billion mark.

Whether budget receipts would rise to the \$84 billion estimated in January appeared questionable in view of the economy's sluggish performance during the first eight months of 1960. After a healthy first-quarter jump in GNP, following settlement on Jan. 4 of a 116-day steel strike, the advance lost momentum, and by adjournment economists were debating whether or not another recession might already be underway. With only weeks remaining before the election, the question had assumed maximum import for the candidates of both parties. (See box on next page for economic indicators.)

Interest Rates

The slackened pace of economic activity had already rendered moot one stormy issue of early 1960. This was the President's request, first voiced in June of 1959, that Congress scrap the legal limit of 4.25 percent on the interest rate that can be offered to buyers of Treasury bonds. Failure to remove "this archaic restriction on flexible debt management," the President said in a special message Jan. 12, had forced the Treasury to resort to short-term issues (on which there was no interest ceiling) at greatly increased interest costs. Congressional action was "imperative," he said.

What had happened was that market money rates had climbed, almost without interruption, for 18 months. From June 1958 to December 1959, yields on three-month Treasury bills rose from less than 1 percent to 4.57 percent, and on Treasury bonds from 3.2 percent to 4.27 percent. Priced out of the long-term money market when yields exceeded the maximum legal coupon rate, the Treasury was confined to one-to-five-year borrowing to meet its heavy refinancing schedule. Interest payments on the public debt shot from \$7.6 billion in fiscal 1959 to \$9.2 billion in fiscal 1960.

Democrats, who had cold-shouldered the President's request in 1959, were even more adamantly opposed to it in 1960, arguing that the Treasury had created its own problem by helping to force interest rates up and that removal of the ceiling would result in higher rates still. Led by Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D Ill.), as Chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, they called for a series of "major reforms" in Treasury debt management policy. Republicans retorted with a charge of "political blackmail," but were unable to budge the opponents.

The House Ways and Means Committee, after much hauling and pushing, reported a limited measure Feb. 29 that would have permitted the President to authorize the sale of bonds paying more than 4.25 percent interest, provided the amount issued did not exceed 2 percent of the debt, or less than \$6 billion. The bill's key provision, however, would have

authorized the Treasury to exchange new bonds for outstanding bonds in advance of maturity, computed at face rather than market value. This would have permitted the Treasury to refund outstanding issues while still abiding by the legal ceiling, since the net result of such an exchange would have been to give bondholders a higher yield.

Secretary of the Treasury Robert B. Anderson pronounced the bill acceptable, but that was as far as it went. Faced with indications that the bill might be defeated in the House and was, in any event, opposed by most Democrats in the Senate, Speaker Sam Rayburn postponed action indefinitely. However "imperative" the matter had seemed to be in January, its urgency appeared to diminish with each passing week, as the price of money began a slow but steady decline. By the end of July, the yield on Treasury bills was down to 2.3 percent, that on bonds to 3.87 percent. After five successive increases in its rediscount rate -- the last to 4 percent in September, 1959 -- the Federal Reserve reversed field in early June, cutting the rate to 3.5 percent. Two months later, the rate was again cut, to 3 percent.

President Eisenhower, in his Aug. 8 message to the post-convention session, again called for removal of the interest limit. But the heat was off, thanks to the vagaries of an uncertain economy.

Tax Measures

Surprisingly little demand was voiced in 1960 for the traditional election-year panacea -- a generous tax cut. The President, determined to round out his Administration with a surplus, asked Congress for a series of measures designed to maintain or increase federal revenues. The legislators, under the firm hand of Chairman Wilbur D. Mills (D Ark.) of the House Ways and Means Committee, deferred action on a basic revision of the Internal Revenue Code until 1961, and gave only limited support to the President's fiscal program.

Tax Extension: For the seventh year running, Congress complied with the President's annual request for another postponement in the scheduled reduction of the 52-percent corporation income tax by 5 percentage points as well as cuts in certain excise taxes. As in 1959, Senate Democrats put up a spirited fight for certain loophole-closing amendments, only to lose out in conference.

Following its time-honored custom, the Ways and Means Committee waited until one month before the June 30 deadline for action before reporting the extension bill, which also authorized another temporary increase in the ceiling on the public debt to offset a seasonal gap between income and outgo. The measure met the President's request in full, even to countermanding an agreement between House and Senate in 1959 to allow the 10 percent excise on local telephone service to lapse and to cut the tax on passenger transportation from 10 to 5 percent, effective July 1, 1960.

Economic Indicators

● **INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION**, on the Federal Reserve index (1957=100), dropped from 110 in June 1959 to 102 in October, bounded back to 111 in January 1960, then rocked along with little change for six months, hitting 109 in July.

● **UNEMPLOYMENT** climbed from 3.2 million in September 1959 to 4.2 million in March 1960 before falling to 3.5 million in May. The jobless total of 4 million in July represented 5.4 percent (seasonally adjusted) of the civilian labor force, up from 5.1 percent a year earlier.

● **GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT** -- the economy's total output of goods and services -- slumped, at the annual rate, from \$487.9 billion in the second quarter of 1959 to \$481.4 billion in the third quarter, then climbed to \$501.3 billion in the first quarter of 1960 and to \$505 billion in the second quarter. The \$17.1 billion increase from the second quarter of 1959 came to \$6.8 billion measured in 1959 prices.

● **CORPORATE PROFITS** -- on which the Treasury collects 52 percent -- dropped at the annual rate from \$51.7 billion in the second quarter of 1959 to \$44.8 billion in the fourth quarter, then moved up to \$48.8 billion in the first quarter of 1960. (Corporate income taxes paid in fiscal 1960 amounted to \$22.2 billion, or \$800 million under the January estimate.)

● **CONSUMER PRICE INDEX** (1947-49=100) continued its slow rise, moving from 124.5 in June 1959 to 126.5 a year later. From the second quarter of 1959 to the second quarter of 1960, per capita disposable income (measured in 1959 prices) advanced from \$1,922 to \$1,940.

Presented to the House June 8 under a closed rule barring floor amendments, the bill ran into strong criticism of the provision continuing the telephone and transportation taxes. But the traditional rule was adopted, 204-181 (D 112-133; R 92-48), and the House went on to pass the bill, 223-174. (See House Roll Call No. 7, p. 26)

The Senate Finance Committee, however, voted to repeal both the telephone and transportation levies before reporting the bill June 16. Put to a vote on the Senate floor, both repealers were rejected by bipartisan majorities -- termination of the telephone tax by a vote of 30-54 (D 22-32; R 8-22), and of the transportation tax by a similar margin of 29-55 (D 24-30; R 5-25). Also rejected were floor amendments to apply a 20-percent withholding tax to interest and dividend income, by a vote of 24-62 (D 22-31; R 2-31); to replace the 27.5 percent depletion allowance for oil and gas producers with a scale of allowances ranging from 15 to 27.5 percent, 30-56 (D 22-31; R 8-25); and to tax "windfall" gains from the sale of depreciable assets at ordinary income rather than capital gains rates, 16-69 (D 16-36; R 0-33).

Three other amendments were accepted, however, the revenue effects of which would have been to collect an estimated \$1.2 billion in additional taxes. By a vote of 42-41 (D 39-12; R 3-29), the Senate agreed to repeal the 4 percent tax credit allowed on dividend income since 1954 (see Senate Roll Call No. 6, p. 22). Also approved, 45-39 (D 36-16; R 9-23), was an amendment sharply limiting allowable deductions for business entertainment expenditures. Finally, by a unanimous vote of 87-0, the Senate wrote in a provision, requested by the President, restricting the base for computing depletion allowances to the raw value rather than finished value of clay and other mineral products.

Passed June 20 by unanimous vote, the amended measure went to conference where the House committeemen, led by Rep. Mills, refused to budge in their opposition to the dividend credit and business entertainment amendments. Stripped of these but including a revised version of the Senate's depletion allowance amendment, the final bill cleared Congress June 28 over the protests of a majority of Senate Democrats, on a 61-32 vote (D 27-32; R 34-0), against the failure of their conferees to hold out for all of the Senate's amendments. As enacted, the bill retained taxes worth about \$4 billion to the Treasury on a full-year basis, and raised the \$285 billion limit on the public debt to \$293 billion during fiscal year 1961.

Postal Rates: In a special message to Congress March 11, the President urged a one-cent increase in first-class, postcard, and airmail rates, along with other increases designed to yield some \$555 million in additional postal revenue and all but wipe out the Post Office Department's projected operating deficit. Although not a tax matter (since postal receipts do not show up in the budget), the request bore no less directly on the fiscal equation (since a postal deficit does add to budget expenditures).

Extensive hearings by the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee in May and June failed to resolve a long-standing dispute over the costs attributable to various classes of postal users. No further action was taken; instead, the Committee reported and the House July 2 passed a bill to prohibit the airlifting of 4-cent letter mail -- an experiment started in 1953 to speed mail delivery. But the Senate failed to act on the measure.

Tax Miscellany: The President found Congress equally unresponsive to his other revenue proposals. No action was taken to raise the federal excise tax on automobile gas from 4 to 4½ cents per gallon, to raise the tax on aviation gas from 2 to 4½ cents, or to levy a similar tax on jet fuels. Brief hearings by the Ways and Means Committee failed to pave the way for tighter rules for taxing the income of cooperatives. The Committee also held hearings, but refused to act, on the President's request that excessive gains on the sale of depreciable property be taxed at ordinary income instead of capital gains rates. (As noted above, the Senate rejected an

amendment to the same effect when debating the annual tax extension bill.)

On its own initiative, and over Treasury opposition in most cases, Congress heeded the pleas of various pressure groups for more favorable tax treatment, as follows:

- The Senate March 29 accepted a bill, passed by the House in 1959, cutting the cabaret tax from 20 to 10 percent, effective May 1. Estimated cost to the Treasury: \$20 million a year.

- On May 5 the House completed action on a bill permitting unlimited deductions of medical expenses incurred by taxpayers for parents 65 or older. Estimated cost: \$50 million a year.

- The Senate June 25 approved another bill passed by the House in 1959, permitting mining companies to deduct up to \$400,000 for exploration expenses over an indefinite period, rather than within a four-year period. Estimated cost: "substantial."

- On the eve of adjournment, Congress cleared a bill permitting U.S. firms with holdings in more than one country to take either an overall or a per-country credit for foreign taxes paid. Estimated cost: \$20 million a year.

- The Senate Finance Committee June 17 reported a revised version of a bill passed by the House in 1959 to permit self-employed persons to defer payment of income tax on a portion of their income set aside for retirement purposes. Brought to the Senate floor just before the July 3 recess, the measure, involving a revenue loss of \$250 million or more, encountered so much criticism that it was shelved. Senate leaders made no effort to reopen the debate during the post-convention session.

Economic Growth

The liberal-conservative duel over economic policy in 1960 was accompanied by increasing talk about the requirements of economic growth.

- The President's Economic Report of Jan. 20 argued that government's major contribution to "Economic Growth in a Free Society" lay in pursuing policies designed to even out the peaks and valleys of the business cycle. But the "major responsibility" for directing the nation's savings into productive investment "rests with private institutions."

- The Joint Economic Committee wound up its 10-month "Study of Employment, Growth, and Price Levels" with a Jan. 26 report charging that Eisenhower Administration "fiscal actions have been a major cause of economic instability" and that Federal Reserve monetary policy had been "excessively restrictive." GOP members refused to sign the "needlessly partisan" majority report, which contained a host of recommendations for administrative and legislative reform, none of which was carried out.

- The Senate's Special Committee on Unemployment Problems, set up in 1959, filed a final report March 30 urging a broad attack on the causes and

consequences of chronic unemployment in the interests of a higher rate of economic growth. Although they differed on specifics, Democratic and Republican members agreed on the need for steps to aid depressed areas, improve unemployment benefits, cut down job discrimination, and meet the inroads of foreign competition. But no action ensued.

• The Cabinet Committee on Price Stability for Economic Growth, headed by Vice President Nixon, concluded April 17 that inflation was no longer a pressing problem and that "we can have reasonable price level stability and sustained economic growth in the 60s if we continue to pursue the general policies of the past few years but improve the effectiveness with which we execute these policies."

Talk aside, however, neither Congress nor the Administration displayed much interest in new forms of economic regulation. These were the highlights:

Antitrust: The only significant measure in this area, sent to the President May 6, provided for federal regulation of all mergers between insured banks, comprising 95 percent of the Nation's banks holding 97 percent of total bank assets. But no action

was taken on the President's repeated request for a pre-merger notification law. A limited but controversial bill extending antitrust regulation to professional team sports died June 28 when the Senate voted 73-12 to recommit it to committee.

Price Hearings: A Democratic proposal that the President be empowered to order hearings by a federal agency on proposed price increases by major industries made less progress in 1960 than in 1959, when a House bill was reported only to be pickled by the Rules Committee. Senate hearings were held on a companion bill, but it died in committee.

Credit Costs: Hearings were also the end of the road for a Senate bill to require sellers to give buyers a written statement showing total finance charges on any installment purchase and the true annual interest rate on the unpaid amount.

Defense Production: Congress agreed June 28 to extend for two more years the Defense Production Act of 1950, authorizing the President to decree priorities for defense contracts, allocate scarce materials, and guarantee defense loans.

Congress Appropriated \$83.8 Billion in Second Session

Agency	Requested	HOUSE		SENATE		Final
		Committee	Passed	Committee	Passed	
Agriculture	\$ 4,135,263,190	\$ 3,964,781,500	\$ 3,937,943,500	\$ 4,000,222,683	\$ 4,005,222,683	\$ 3,994,097,600
Commerce	799,615,000	760,522,235	760,522,235	738,388,300	738,388,300	729,624,375
Defense	39,335,000,000	39,337,867,000	39,337,867,000	40,384,897,000	40,514,997,000	39,996,608,000
District of Columbia						
Federal payment	34,533,000	27,533,000	27,533,000	28,533,000	28,533,000	27,533,000
District payment*	(242,403,000)	(237,118,276)	(237,118,276)	(240,089,152)	(240,089,152)	(239,470,433)
Executive Offices	14,627,500	13,787,500	13,787,500	14,397,500	14,572,500	14,207,500
Independent Offices	8,417,397,000	8,146,167,400	8,182,067,400	8,414,412,900	8,459,412,900	8,311,893,400
Interior	550,330,300	543,375,600	543,375,600	586,259,500	589,212,625	557,667,600
Labor-HEW	4,020,221,981	4,184,022,731	4,184,022,731	4,484,088,931	4,485,788,931	4,354,170,331
Legislative	133,413,485	100,317,660	100,317,660	129,719,510	129,870,410	129,470,410
Public Works	4,004,141,180	3,914,798,985	3,914,798,985	4,030,010,605	4,030,010,605	3,969,982,485
State-Justice	733,030,395	676,579,807	676,564,807	718,010,147	712,719,147	705,032,567
Treasury-Post Office	4,897,853,000	4,795,414,000	4,795,414,000	4,877,014,000	4,877,014,000	4,841,914,000
Mutual Security	4,281,704,000	3,389,750,000	3,589,750,000	3,989,054,000	3,989,054,000	3,722,350,000
Military Construction	1,188,000,000	885,168,000	876,145,000	1,067,227,000	1,067,227,000	994,855,000
Supplementals 1960	1,049,583,888	258,175,864	266,505,864	1,008,987,103	1,024,570,103	984,449,003
1st Supplemental 1961	169,327,840	49,215,700	49,738,200	161,068,740	166,324,740	138,293,740
2nd Supplemental 1961	81,932,731	90,587,481	91,085,481	305,042,731	305,042,731	162,186,981
Permanent Funds**	10,166,000,000					10,166,000,000
TOTAL	\$84,011,974,490					\$83,800,335,992

* District payment, financed by local taxes, was not included in total appropriation.

** Permanent appropriations, subject to review, included an estimated \$9.5 billion for interest on the national debt.

Civil Benefits

"Socialism" Repulsed in Medical Aid Battle

Against a background of rising public concern with the health problems of the aged, Congress was bracketed in 1960 by a withering and bewildering crossfire of argument in behalf of opposing plans to help "senior citizens" meet the ever-increasing costs of medical care. Liberal Democrats, backed by the AFL-CIO, championed an approach through the social security system, financed by higher payroll taxes. Republicans, by and large, echoed the opposition of the American Medical Assn. to "compulsory" insurance; later they countered with a proposal for an expensive program of federal grants to the states. The plan finally enacted, however, fell considerably short of either approach.

Background: The drive for medical care legislation got underway in 1959 when the House Ways and Means Committee held hearings on the Forand bill. Introduced by Rep. Aime J. Forand (D R.I.), it would have provided substantial hospitalization, surgical and other benefits to all retired persons covered by social security, at a first-year cost of \$1.1 billion to be financed by a one-quarter of 1 percent increase in payroll taxes for both employer and employee.

As the 1960 session opened, the Forand approach was given a strong endorsement by the Democratic majority of the Senate's Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging, which noted that by 1965 at least 8 million persons over 65 years of age would have no health insurance of any kind. Sen. John F. Kennedy, a Subcommittee member who had just launched his campaign for the Democratic nomination, introduced his own version of the Forand bill Jan. 26, and the matter quickly won recognition as a major election-year issue.

For three months, however, the Administration, while continuing to oppose the Forand bill in any form, failed to come up with an alternative plan. The Ways and Means Committee, meanwhile, agreed to a number of improvements in regular social security benefits, but on March 31 voted 17-8 against including Forand's formula for medical care benefits. Finally, on May 4, Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Arthur S. Flemming outlined the Administration's proposal. It called for federal and state grants for two alternative plans: a "Medicare Program for the Aged," paying from 80 to 100 percent of stipulated medical costs beyond the first \$250 for persons over 65 with gross incomes of less than \$2,500; or, as an option, a maximum federal-state payment of \$60 toward the cost of private health insurance.

With an estimated cost to the Treasury of \$600 million a year, the Administration's plan drew pained cries from conservatives as well as liberals,

who quickly noted the absence of any financing provisions. Vice President Richard M. Nixon, credited with an active hand in shaping the plan, lauded it as "superior" to the Forand bill, which "would open the door for socialized medicine." But Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller (R N.Y.) said it could lead to a "very serious fiscal situation" and again endorsed the social security insurance approach.

Floor Action: The Ways and Means Committee then proceeded to write a watered-down version of the Administration plan. As reported to the House June 13, along with other social security amendments, it provided for federal grants, ranging from 50 to 65 percent of costs, to states choosing to participate in paying stipulated medical benefits to needy persons over 65, at an estimated federal cost of \$185 million annually. Brought to the floor under a closed rule, the bill was passed June 23, by a vote of 381-23.

Liberal Democrats used the July recess to write a platform plank calling for a social security medical insurance program without a means test as a "first priority" in helping the aged. But the Senate Finance Committee was unimpressed. After rejecting three different plans, each based on the social security approach, the Committee voted 12-4 for a grant program akin to the Administration's plan. It called for federal payments to the states, ranging from 50 to 80 percent, to cover medical benefits for persons already receiving public assistance and for a new class of "medically indigent" persons with incomes too low to meet major medical expenses.

Reported to the Senate Aug. 19, the Committee's plan survived a crucial test when an amendment providing medical benefits for all social security retirees 68 and over, to be financed by increased payroll taxes, was rejected by a vote of 44-51. (See Senate Roll Call No. 9, p. 23) Sen. Kennedy, deserted by Southern Democrats, had suffered a major setback at the hands of the conservative coalition. On Aug. 23, after voting 51-38 to extend coverage to mental and tuberculosis patients, the Senate passed the bill, 91-2. The amendment was dropped in conference, however; as sent to the President Aug. 29 the medical care provisions were substantially those approved by the Senate Finance Committee. The estimated cost: \$200 million.

The omnibus bill also repealed a provision that permanently disabled persons must be 50 before qualifying for disability benefits; liberalized the retirement earnings limitation for all beneficiaries; extended coverage to several groups of workers previously excluded; and increased the earned-income allowance for persons receiving aid to the blind under state programs.

Other Health Issues: Congress in 1960 acted on several other important, if less dramatic, health matters, as follows:

- **Water Pollution** -- Rather than cut back federal grants to communities for sewage plant construction under the Water Pollution Control Act, as proposed by the President, Congress agreed to increase the authorization from \$50 million to \$90 million a year, but to no avail. A compromise version of bills passed by both chambers in 1959 was approved by the House Feb. 9 and by the Senate Feb. 15, only to be vetoed Feb. 23 by the President on grounds that water pollution "is a uniquely local blight" for which state and local governments must assume responsibility. The veto was sustained when the House, on a 249-157 roll call Feb. 25, fell 22 votes short of overriding. (See House Roll Call No. 1, p. 24)

- **Health Funds** -- The legislators had greater success when it came to funds. As in 1958 and 1959, the House March 29 agreed to appropriate more money than was requested for the National Institutes of Health, adding \$55 million to the \$400 million asked. Grants also were increased for hospital construction, from \$126 million to \$150 million, and for sewage plants, from \$20 million to \$45 million. On June 17 the Senate added still more funds to the bill, giving NIH \$664 million and the hospital program \$211 million. As finally approved Aug. 26, the money measure carried \$560 million for NIH, \$186 million for hospital construction grants, and \$45 million for sewage plant grants, for a total increase of 45 percent over the budget.

- **Color Additives** -- Federal authority to regulate the use of color additives in foods, drugs, and cosmetics was clarified and strengthened in 1960 by a bill sent to the President June 30. Like the Food Additives Amendment of 1958, it shifted the burden of proving the safety of color additives from the Food and Drug Administration to the industries involved, and authorized FDA to establish tolerance limits for all additives except those found to induce cancer when used in any amount. Producers and users of color additives were given up to 30 months in which to secure FDA clearance.

- **Drugs** -- A probe of drug prices begun in 1959 was continued throughout the 1960 session by the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, headed by Sen. Estes Kefauver (D Tenn.), who introduced a bill June 15 to require federal licensing of drug manufacturers and evaluation of the efficacy as well as safety of new drugs. But no action was taken on Kefauver's bill or a proposal by Secretary Fleming for a less drastic law.

- **Research** -- By a vote of 259-114, the House June 24 passed a revised version of a "Health for Peace Act" passed by the Senate in 1959. On June 30 the Senate accepted the House version, which authorized a broad program of international cooperation in medical research but no new funds. Congress also authorized a five-year, \$2 million-a-year program of project grants to public health, nursing, and engineering schools to expand graduate training.

Aid to Education

If liberals were slowed to a walk in the medical care battle, they were stopped dead in their effort to break the long post-war deadlock over a general aid-to-education bill. Both chambers approved bills authorizing substantial grants to the states, only to have the House Rules Committee block resolution of the differences. The victory, if any, went to President Eisenhower, who in 1959 abandoned his earlier support of construction grants and proposed instead a complex bond-subsidy approach.

The Senate opened the 1960 debate when it took up a bill to authorize school construction grants of \$500 million a year for two years. An amendment by Sen. Joseph S. Clark (D Pa.) to increase this to \$1.1 billion a year, extend it indefinitely, and permit use of the funds for paying teachers' salaries as well, was rejected by a 44-44 vote, then killed when Vice President Nixon broke another 44-44 tie to table a motion to reconsider the vote. (See Senate Roll Call No. 1, p. 22). The Senate then agreed, 54-35 (D 46-11; R 8-24), to up the Committee bill to \$20 per school-age child for two years, or about \$917 million each year, for school construction or teachers' salaries, and it was in this form that the bill was passed Feb. 4.

On March 25 the House Education and Labor Committee reported its own bill, providing federal grants of \$325 million a year for three years, for construction only. After sitting on it for two months, the Rules Committee sent the measure to the floor, where it was amended to provide a four-year program of matching grants, at \$325 million a year. The House then attached an anti-segregation rider to the bill, by a vote of 218-181 (D 100-160; R 118-21), before passing the amended bill May 26, 206-189. (See House Roll Call No. 4, p. 24)

School-aid proponents were prepared to accept a compromise retaining the \$1.3 billion, four-year authorization in the House bill and an equalization formula in the Senate bill, while dropping the anti-segregation and teachers' salaries provisions. But on June 22 the Rules Committee, by a 5-7 vote, refused to send the House bill to conference. All efforts to dislodge the measure during the August session were unavailing and both bills died with adjournment, victims of the conservative coalition.

Other education issues debated in 1960:

- **Aid to Colleges** -- Hearings were held on both sides of the Capitol on several proposals for federal aid to higher education, including an Administration bond-subsidy plan designed to replace a program of college-housing loans which the President asked to be terminated. None of the proposals advanced to the floor, but a stop-gap housing bill cleared Aug. 31 included another \$500 million in college-housing loan authority. Also enacted: a bill increasing teaching grants to 68 land-grant colleges from \$2.5 million to \$12 million a year.

- **Impacted Areas** -- President Eisenhower's 1959 request that Congress curtail a 10-year-old program of federal grants to 4,000 school districts burdened by the impact of federal activities continued to be ignored in 1960. To the nearly \$2 billion appropriated since 1950 for school construction and operation in these areas, the legislators added another \$251 million -- \$80 million more than the President requested.

- **Student Affidavit** -- Congress failed in 1960 to repeal a provision in the National Defense Education Act of 1958 requiring student applicants for loans to sign an affidavit disclaiming belief in or support of subversive organizations. A bill by Sen. Kennedy to strike the controversial proviso, which had led 26 colleges including Harvard to withdraw from the loan program, was passed June 15 by the Senate in amended form, but died in the House.

- **Educational TV** -- The House Commerce Committee April 7 reported a bill authorizing \$39.5 million in grants to the states to help build educational television stations. Modeled on a \$52-million version passed by the Senate in 1959, the bill expired when the Rules Committee voted May 12 to bury it.

- **Aid to Deaf** -- A bill to establish a 10-year program of federal grants, starting with \$3.5 million in each of the first two years, to improve training programs for teachers of the deaf, speech pathologists, and audiologists was passed by the Senate May 27 but ignored by the House.

Area Redevelopment

The price of divided government was posted for all to see when, for the fifth year since the program was first proposed, a Republican President and a Democratic Congress refused to come to terms on a plan of federal aid for the nation's so-called depressed areas, beset by chronic unemployment as the result of technological and other changes.

The issue first came to a head in 1958 when the President, who had called for a \$50-million loan program, vetoed a \$280-million package of loans and grants. The Senate proceeded nevertheless to pass a \$390-million bill early in 1959. Trimmed to \$251 million by the House Banking and Currency Committee, the measure remained bottled up in the Rules Committee until May 4, 1960 when it was brought to the floor under the Calendar Wednesday rule, last used to bypass the House "traffic cop" in 1950.

Passed by the House by a 202-184 vote, the bill was quickly accepted by the Senate, 45-32, in the hope of forestalling a veto. But on May 13 the President sent it back, saying it was "even more objectionable" than the 1958 version. The veto was sustained when the Senate, by a 45-39 vote May 24, fell 11 "yeas" shy of the number needed to override. (See Senate Roll Call No. 4, p. 22) The Administration then sought Democratic support for a revised bill of its own, but the August session produced nothing more than a one-day hearing.

Housing

Thanks to the Rules Committee, President Eisenhower was spared the necessity of vetoing a distasteful omnibus housing bill in 1960, as he had twice done in 1959. Passed by the Senate but blocked in the House, the measure never reached his desk. Three programs due to expire were saved, however, by an eleventh-hour stop-gap bill which he signed Sept. 14.

The annual hassle over housing legislation got underway when the House April 28 took up what its sponsors called an emergency bill to stem the decline in new housing starts. Passed by a vote of 214-163, its major provision authorized the Federal National Mortgage Assn. to buy an additional \$1 billion in mortgages on low-priced homes under its special assistance program. The Administration, by contrast, had asked for only \$150 million.

The emergency bill went no further, however. Instead, the two Banking and Currency housing subcommittees went to work on omnibus bills in the face of Administration objections to most of the Democratic-sponsored proposals. The Senate bill, reported June 14, authorized more than \$1 billion in loans and grants for various programs, including \$350 million in urban renewal grants and \$500 million for college housing loans. The bill also extended the Federal Housing Administration's home improvement loan program for one year, provided a \$4 billion increase in FHA authority to insure home mortgages, and added \$150 million to Fannie Mae's special assistance program.

Before passing the bill June 16, by a 64-16 vote, the Senate agreed to amendments cutting \$134 million from the bill and deleting a provision requiring the President to make an annual estimate of the Nation's housing needs. But the Senate also agreed, against the President's wishes, to extend the expiring veterans' home loan guarantee program and, by a 42-39 vote, to authorize an additional 25,000 units of public housing.

The House bill, carrying provisions similar to those in the Senate version, was reported June 20, only to be denied clearance to the floor by a 6-6 vote of the Rules Committee June 28. Since both veterans' programs -- home, farm, and business loan guarantees for World War II vets, and direct loans for both World War II and Korean war vets -- were due to expire July 25, the House immediately passed a bill extending them for two years and authorizing \$150 million for direct loans in each year. The Senate concurred June 30 and the President, although opposed to the extension, signed the bill July 14.

When it became apparent that no omnibus bill would emerge before adjournment, both chambers quickly approved a three-point bill Aug. 31, extending FHA's home improvement loan program for one year, adding \$500 million to the college housing loan program, and increasing the public facility loan program by \$50 million.

Minimum Wage

When the heavily Democratic 86th Congress took office in 1959, organized labor had every reason to anticipate some lush legislative dividends. Yet at adjournment in 1960 the record showed that of 76 AFL-CIO bread-and-butter requests only seven had eked through, two of which were vetoed. Labor's worst setback occurred in 1959, with enactment of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act. The major defeat of 1960 was the failure of Congress to produce a new minimum wage law. Sharing labor's losses was Sen. Kennedy, a prime mover in both of these battles.

Two major issues were involved in the minimum wage dispute: the amount of increase to be provided in the \$1-per-hour minimum (raised from 75 cents in 1949), and the number of new workers to be added to the 23.7 million protected by the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, better known as the federal wage-hour law. The AFL-CIO wanted the minimum wage raised to \$1.25 and coverage extended to at least 5 million new workers in retail and other enterprises "engaged in activities affecting" interstate commerce. The Administration proposed, instead, that about 3.2 million workers be brought under the \$1 minimum, and that the minimum for those already covered be raised by 10 or 15 cents.

After extensive hearings, the House Education and Labor Committee reported a bill adding 3.5 million new workers and increasing the minimum by stages to \$1.25 for all covered workers. But on June 30 the House voted 211-203 to substitute a bill raising the minimum to \$1.15 for those already covered and extending the \$1 minimum to 1.4 million workers in interstate retail chains. (See House Roll Call No. 8, p. 26) It was in this form that the bill was passed, by a vote of 341-72.

Meanwhile, the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee had reported its own \$1.25 bill extending coverage to 5 million new workers. When it reached the floor during the post-convention session, Republicans and Southern Democrats made an all-out but largely unsuccessful effort to cut it back. An amendment to limit new coverage to about 280,000 workers was rejected, 39-56. (See Senate Roll Call No. 8, p. 23) Another amendment, restricting new coverage to retail and service employees of interstate chains, was tabled by a vote of 50-48 (D 42-23; R 8-25). But the Senate agreed to exclude about 1 million of the bill's 5 million newly-covered jobs before voting passage Aug. 18, 62-34.

Senate conferees, headed by Sen. Kennedy, were prepared to fashion a compromise between the two bills, but House members were not. After four fruitless sessions, the conference broke up Aug. 30. Said Kennedy: no bill was better than the House bill.

A lesser, though important, defeat shared by Kennedy and organized labor was the failure of either house to exempt picketing of joint construction sites from the ban on secondary boycotts.

Transportation

The Commerce Department March 14 issued a study of federal transportation policy which, like one sent to Congress in 1955, argued for a return to the free market, with minimum regulations and no subsidies. But Secretary Frederick H. Mueller said there was "nothing of such great urgency" as to require immediate legislation, and Congress agreed, producing little in the way of new transport law.

No effort was made in 1960 to resolve the tangled fiscal problems of the Interstate Highway System, the ultimate cost of which was expected to exceed Trust Fund revenues by \$11 billion. Congress ignored the President's call for a half-cent increase in the federal gas tax. Its only action, in fact, was to increase the prospective burden by raising, from \$900 million to \$925 million, the recommended fiscal 1962 and 1963 authorizations for ABC roads, which get first crack at the Trust Fund. The bill, sent to the White House July 2, was signed July 14.

Railroads weathered a minor crisis when Congress failed to act on bills to restrict their freedom to discontinue unprofitable commuter and other passenger service under authority of the Transportation Act of 1958. A similar fate, however, attended industry-backed bills to permit railroads to enter air, highway, or water transport fields. Another measure favored by the industry, authorizing \$100 million in loans to local agencies for developing commuter services and mass transportation systems, passed the Senate June 27 but died in the House.

Administration and industry spokesmen split over the merits of a proposal to stimulate air cargo development through a system of loan guarantees, and no action was taken. The merchant marine fared better, winning a law signed July 7 raising for two years the ceiling on shipbuilding subsidies, from 50 to 55 percent of costs. The law also banned free or cut-rate passage for anyone on the Government payroll -- an "anti-junket" provision urged by Sen. John J. Williams (R Del.) since 1954.

Other benefits considered by Congress in 1960:

Small Business: Greater flexibility in the type of equity financing open to small business investment companies was provided by a bill, signed June 11, amending the Small Business Investment Act of 1958. But conferees failed to compose differences between Senate and House versions of a bill to increase the Small Business Administration's business loan authority from \$575 million. The House had provided \$150 million, the Senate \$75 million.

Veterans: Although Congress agreed to extend the expiring veterans' loan guarantee and direct loan programs (see previous page), two other benefit bills were blocked in the House. One, passed by the Senate in 1959, would have extended GI Bill benefits to veterans entering the service after 1955; the other, passed by the Senate June 2, would have given veterans a second chance to buy National Service Life Insurance policies.

Natural Resources

Congress took up a batch of resource proposals in 1960 and enacted several. The major items:

San Luis Project: Construction of a \$290-million dam and reservoir under a partnership agreement with California was authorized by a bill which President Eisenhower signed June 3 "with pleasure." Passed by the Senate in 1959, the measure won approval of the House May 18, after a controversial provision exempting the state share of San Luis water from federal reclamation laws was deleted by a vote of 214-179 (D 211-37; R 3-142).

Rivers & Harbors: Omnibus bills authorizing new navigation, flood control and river development projects opposed by the President were vetoed in 1956 and 1958, but the 1960 version, authorizing more than \$1.4 billion for 130 projects, was signed July 14 without a murmur. A veto had been hinted by Minority Leader Dirksen when the Senate June 17 added more than 80 projects worth \$925 million to the bill passed by the House in 1959. The biggest addition -- \$115 million for locks on the Illinois Waterway -- was dropped in conference. The President also accepted a public works appropriation bill (after vetoing one in 1959) carrying funds for 55 new water development projects, 23 of which had been added by the Senate and House to his requests.

Lead-Zinc Subsidy: The President refused to cooperate, however, when Congress sent him a bill authorizing federal subsidies for small lead and zinc producers. Passed by the House June 27, by a 197-192 vote, and by the Senate Aug. 19, by a 59-28 vote, the bill was vetoed Sept. 2 on grounds that "it would harm rather than help" the hard-pressed industry. He was spared another certain veto, when Congress adjourned without acting on a minor tax bill to which the Senate Finance Committee had added a provision raising lead and zinc import duties.

Helium: Space-age requirements for helium (used in Atlas, Titan and other missiles) helped to spur passage of a bill enlarging the authority of the Secretary of the Interior under the Helium Act of 1937 and paving the way for construction, by private industry or the Government, of 12 helium-extraction plants costing \$225 million over a 20-year period. Sent to the White House Aug. 31, the bill struck one partisan note: its effective date of March 1, 1961 would bar the outgoing Administration from negotiating any of the construction contracts.

Coal: Development of new and more efficient ways of mining and using coal was the objective of a bill, signed July 7, authorizing a \$2-million research program by the Interior Department. But the coal industry was unsuccessful in getting Congress to set up a special joint committee to study the need for a national fuels policy.

Oceanography: An ambitious, 10-year program of oceanographic research, involving expenditure of more than \$500 million, was approved by the Senate June 23. The House took no action, however.

Agriculture

The farm problem -- low income and big surpluses -- continued to elude a solution in 1960 in the face of clashing commodity and political interests. In a Feb. 9 message, warning that current Government programs might well "collapse under the pressure of public indignation," the President said he would accept "any constructive solution" developed by Congress. But the criteria he proposed followed those long advocated by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson and rejected by Congress.

The immediate issue concerned wheat. With 1.4 billion bushels worth \$3.5 billion in surplus and more on the way, the President again recommended lower price supports, the elimination of acreage allotments and marketing quotas, and expansion of the soil bank to absorb wheat acreage. The major farm organizations were split, as usual, with the Farm Bureau supporting most of the Administration's proposals while the Grange and Farmers Union backed a plan calling for a national wheat quota of 950 million bushels.

Both approaches were rejected, however, by the Senate Agriculture Committee, which reported a bill May 2 raising wheat supports from the current 75 percent to 80 percent of parity and cutting wheat acreage by 20 percent. When the bill reached the Senate floor, Chairman Allen J. Ellender (D La.), who opposed the measure, offered an amendment to reduce wheat supports to 65 percent of parity by 1963. With both parties sharply divided, the Senate first agreed to the amendment, 45-41, then voted to reconsider and rejected it, 39-46. The Senate then voted, 48-34, to freeze supports at 75 percent, before passing the bill June 9, 44-36. (See Senate Roll Call No. 5, p. 22)

The House Agriculture Committee, meanwhile, reported a bill May 20 giving wheat growers a choice between two plans: a 25 percent cut in acreage with 85 percent supports, or removal of all production controls with supports of 50 percent after 1961. On June 23, the House barely defeated a move to substitute the Senate-passed bill, by a vote of 195-211, then refused to pass the Committee's bill, 171-236. (See House Roll Call No. 6, p. 24)

No further effort was made to pass a wheat bill. On other farm issues, Congress acted as follows:

Tobacco Supports: Having vetoed a bill in 1959 to freeze tobacco supports because it took "a long step backward" by resurrecting an old parity formula, the President demanded and got a new bill to stabilize tobacco supports, sent to him Feb. 15.

Dairy Supports: In last-minute action Aug. 31, Congress cleared a bill raising price supports on milk used for manufacturing and on butterfat from 77 percent to 80 percent of parity. To the surprise of Democrats, the President signed it.

Agricultural Research: Conferees never reached agreement on a bill, passed in 1959, to step up the search for new uses of farm products.

Congress Labored to Pass Modest Rights Law

The ever-touchy civil rights issue generated a flood of oratory in 1960 and tied the Senate in knots for the better part of two months. From the start, however, it was clear that Congressional leaders of both parties wanted no more than a limited voting rights measure. Backed by a bipartisan majority of similar disposition, they blocked the antagonistic maneuvers of Southern conservatives and Northern liberals with equal ease, and the law that emerged was, by any standard, a modest modification of the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

Beaten on the floor, the liberals went on to write strong civil rights planks into both party platforms during the July recess. When the Senate reconvened in August, however, party unity was restored as Democrats rebuffed GOP attempts to reopen the issue in the brief post-convention session. On the motion of Sen. Joseph S. Clark (D Pa.), a leading liberal who had characterized the outcome of earlier debate as Grant's surrender to Lee, the Senate voted 54-28 (D 52-4; R 2-24) to table an Administration bill previously rejected. Thus the civil rights issue was preserved for further exploitation during the oncoming political campaign.

Eisenhower Proposals: Early in 1959 the Administration submitted a seven-point bill that would: make it a federal crime to cross state lines to avoid prosecution for bombing a school or church; make it a crime to interfere with a court order for school desegregation; authorize the Justice Department to inspect voting records and require that these be preserved for three years; authorize emergency schooling for armed forces' children deprived of schools by integration disputes; authorize federal technical and financial aid to areas faced with school desegregation problems; grant statutory authority to the President's Committee on Government Contracts, and extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission.

Only this last request was enacted in 1959, continuing the Commission until Nov. 8, 1961. Of the remaining six points, the first four were contained in modified form in a bill reported Aug. 20, 1959 by the House Judiciary Committee. Pigeonholed by the Rules Committee, the bill was finally turned loose Feb. 18, 1960 when a discharge petition was just ten shy of the needed 219 signatures. Meanwhile, Senate Leaders Johnson and Dirksen, fulfilling a pledge made in 1959, called up a minor House bill Feb. 15 and invited Senators to attach civil rights amendments to it, thus bypassing the Senate Judiciary Committee and provoking a full-blown Southern filibuster. Johnson countered by holding the Senate in continuous session from Feb. 29 through March 9, to the tune of 50 quorum calls.

Floor Action: On March 10, just as the House was taking up its own bill, Senate liberals sought to stop the filibuster by invoking cloture, but their motion was rejected, 42-53. They then tried to revive Part III of the Administration's 1957 bill, authorizing the Attorney General to seek injunctions against the deprivation of any civil right, whether in housing, employment, or education. The amendment was promptly tabled by a vote of 55-38. (See Senate Roll Call No. 2, p. 22)

Attention then turned to the central legislative issue -- how to ensure the voting rights of qualified Negroes barred from registering by local officials. The Civil Rights Commission had recommended in 1959 that the President be empowered to appoint temporary federal registrars on a showing of discrimination. On Jan. 26, Attorney General William P. Rogers proposed instead that the job be given to referees appointed by the court following the successful prosecution of civil suits under the 1957 law.

With opinions at wide variance concerning the effectiveness of the two proposals, the House March 23 approved a modified version of the referees plan by a vote of 295-241. (See House Roll Call No. 2, p. 24) The Senate next day rejected a proposal to authorize either court-appointed referees or Presidentially-appointed enrollment officers, tabling the amendment by a vote of 51-43. (See Senate Roll Call No. 3, p. 22) The Senate Judiciary Committee was then given five days to act on the House bill, sent to the Senate March 24, by a 311-109 vote. Reported back with amendments, most of which were accepted, the bill was passed April 8 by a vote of 71-18 after the Senate had once more rejected a series of strengthening and weakening changes. On April 21 the House agreed to the Senate's amendments, sending the bill to the President.

Provisions: The 1960 Civil Rights Act --

- Made obstruction of any federal court order by threats or force punishable by a fine of \$1000 or imprisonment of one year, or both.
- Prescribed criminal penalties for false bomb reports, for possessing or transporting explosives across state lines for bombings, and for bombing or burning any building, facility, or vehicle.
- Required preservation of all voting records for federal elections for 22 months, and gave the Attorney General the right to inspect them.
- Authorized provision of schooling for armed forces' children where their regular schools are closed to avoid integration.
- Authorized federal courts to appoint referees to help Negroes register, after a court finding of a "pattern or practice" of discrimination against persons otherwise qualified to vote.

D.C. Suffrage

If the voting rights' bill was a modest gain for civil libertarians, it was also their biggest gain in 1960. Congress approved, for submission to the states, a constitutional amendment to give voteless citizens of the District of Columbia a voice in electing the President. But a concerted drive to bring home-rule to the Nation's capital fell short of the mark, as did an attempt to pass a new "clean elections" law.

Steps to extend the national franchise to the District began when the Senate took up a proposed constitutional amendment to authorize governors to fill vacancies in the House of Representatives in the event of a national disaster. Approved by the Senate in 1954 and again in 1955 but never by the House, the amendment was reported by the Judiciary Committee in 1959 and taken to the floor Jan. 26.

Sen. Spessard L. Holland (D Fla.) promptly moved to add another amendment to outlaw the poll tax, still levied by five states. A counter-proposal, made by Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R N.Y.), would have outlawed the poll tax by statute -- an approach approved five times by the House but never by the Senate. Put to a vote, Holland's amendment was accepted, 72-16; the Javits proposal, offered as a substitute, was then tabled by a 50-37 vote.

Sen. Kenneth B. Keating (R N.Y.) then moved to add a third constitutional amendment, authorizing the District of Columbia to elect four Presidential electors and two Delegates to the House. Keating's amendment was accepted, 63-25, and the three-part measure was sent to the House Feb. 2 by a vote of 70-18, or 11 more than the required two-thirds.

In the light of known opposition to the poll tax amendment, the House Judiciary Committee decided to strip the measure of all possible encumbrances. As reported May 31, it provided for a single amendment permitting District of Columbia citizens to choose three Presidential electors but no Delegates. Passed by the House by voice vote, the one-item resolution was accepted by the Senate June 16. Whether the District would help to pick a President in 1964 or 1968 was up to the states, 38 of which must ratify the amendment within seven years. The first to do so: Hawaii, the 50th state.

The drive to restore home-rule to the District, governed since 1876 by three commissioners named by the President, began when the Senate passed a bill in 1959 providing for an elected mayor and a nine-member city council. The House District Committee held hearings on another plan, backed by the Administration, to give the District the status of a territory, with a Governor appointed by the President and an elected 15-member legislative assembly. Neither bill was reported to the House, however, and on July 30, 1959 Rep. Abraham J. Multer (D N.Y.) filed a discharge petition to bring the territorial bill to the floor. Subsequently revised, the petition was reportedly signed at various times by as

many as 260 Members. But it never garnered the necessary 219 signatures at one time, and both home-rule bills died with adjournment in 1960.

Related issues considered by Congress in 1960:

Clean Elections: The first major legislation of the session to reach the Senate was a bill, authored by Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D Mo.), to completely rewrite the Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1925. As reported in 1959, the bill raised the limits on permissible campaign spending by Congressional candidates and interstate political committees, but fell considerably short of what Hennings had proposed in order to close loopholes in the 1925 law.

In Senate debate starting Jan. 13, Hennings led a successful fight to strengthen the bill. An amendment to bring expenditures in primary elections for federal office under the reporting provisions of the bill was approved, 50-39 (D 34-21; R 16-18). The Senate also agreed to require reports on campaign finances from political committees operating within a single state, by a vote of 53-37. Other strengthening provisions were added before the bill was passed Jan. 25, by a 59-22 vote. But it was never heard from again and expired quietly in the House Administration Committee -- an unfinished epitaph to Sen. Hennings, who died Sept. 13.

Internal Security: The Senate, in turn, was equally unwilling to follow the lead of the House on security matters. The Senate Judiciary Committee reported an omnibus measure June 30 corresponding to four bills passed by the House in 1959, designed to broaden provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, to permit prosecution for espionage committed anywhere in the world, to extend the definition of prohibited activities under the Smith Act, and to authorize denial of passports to Communists and Communist sympathizers on the basis of confidential information. When the Senate failed to act on the bill, Rep. Francis E. Walter (D Pa.) won quick House approval Aug. 22 for another version of the 1959 foreign agents bill, but the Senate ignored that as well. Nor did the Senate take up a bill, reported June 24, to legalize the use of evidence obtained through wiretapping, in criminal proceedings in states permitting police to eavesdrop when authorized by court order.

TV Campaigning: Senate hearings on a proposal to require the networks to give free television time to both Presidential nominees during the election campaign revealed greater opposition than support for the scheme. But the networks offered to provide such time to the Democratic and GOP candidates, on condition that Congress amend existing law so that equal time would not have to be furnished to minor candidates. A resolution to that effect, suspending the "equal time" provision of the Federal Communications Act for the 1960 campaign, was approved by the Senate June 27 and by the House Aug. 22. Plans for four joint appearances by Vice President Nixon and Sen. Kennedy on all four television networks were announced Aug. 31.

Pay Raise

President Eisenhower sustained the second such defeat of his Administration when Congress overrode his veto of a bill raising the pay of Government workers by \$800 million a year. For technical reasons, neither the raise nor Congress' failure to increase postal rates by \$555 million showed up in the final tally of appropriations (see p. 10, 11). Yet the net effect of the two actions was to add more than \$1.3 billion to the expenditure side of the fiscal 1961 budget.

During lengthy hearings before the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, Administration spokesmen opposed any across-the-board increase in federal pay as unjustified. But on May 23 the Committee reported a bill granting a 9 percent raise to about 1.6 million postal workers, civil service employees, and others on the federal payroll, with a guaranteed minimum increase of \$350. When it became apparent that the Rules Committee had no intention of sending the bill to the floor, members of the Government Employees' Council (AFL-CIO), in a dazzling display of lobbying, rounded up the required 219 signatures on a discharge petition in two days, June 2-3, thus bypassing the roadblock.

In an effort to enhance prospects of overriding an expected veto, supporters of the bill agreed to trim the raise to 7.5 percent and strike the guaranteed minimum. The strategy succeeded, for the House passed it in that form June 15, by an overwhelming majority, 378-40. All attempts to modify the bill in the Senate were rejected by decisive margins, and on June 17 it was sent to the President, also by a topheavy margin of 62-17.

As expected, the President vetoed the bill on June 30, saying it represented "fiscal and legislative irresponsibility." He characterized as "utterly without foundation" the argument that the raise was needed to keep pace with the cost of living, pointing out that the price index had advanced only 2.1 percent since 1958 when a 10-percent pay raise had been approved. But his sharpest rebuke was levelled at the "unconcealed political pressure exerted flagrantly and in concert on Members of Congress" by the employee lobbies. Were the public to know the true facts, he said, "their indignation and outrage in all its power would be quickly felt."

The President's peroration had no discernible effect on Capitol Hill. With the help of a majority of Republicans in both chambers, the bill was passed over his veto July 1, by a vote of 345-69 in the House and 74-24 in the Senate. (See House Roll Call No. 9, p. 26; Senate Roll Call No. 7, p. 23)

Annuities: Congress also completed action June 30 on a bill permitting civil service employees and Members of Congress, when eligible for maximum retirement benefits, to continue annuity fund payments in order to liquidate contributions payable for service prior to 1946, when Members were brought under the civil service retirement program.

Broadcast Controls

No vested interest came quite so close as the broadcasting industry to being severely penalized in 1960 for malpractice. Indicted on the basis of disclosures, beginning in 1959, of rigged TV quiz shows, galloping payola, and deceptive advertising, the industry was threatened with a most dreaded punishment -- a law permitting the Federal Communications Commission to suspend the license of any station that misbehaved. That tooth was pulled, however, before Congress passed a relatively mild bill designed to ban deception on the air waves.

Hearings before the House Legislative Oversight Subcommittee, headed by Rep. Oren Harris (D Ark.), had established the fact that neither the FCC nor the networks had made any serious effort to clean house before the roof fell in, revealing a shoddy maze of fix and payoff. The only real question concerned the appropriate remedy: whether to rely on the industry to police itself under the fairly benevolent eye of the FCC (as broadcasters urged), or to assign the job to the Commission, along with the tools to do it.

At the President's direction, Attorney General Rogers came up with a report Dec. 31, 1959 recommending a series of new FCC procedures and regulations, and two specific changes in current law: making payola a criminal offense for employees of radio and TV stations, and giving FCC authority to suspend licensees for prohibited practices or failure to serve the public interest. Empowered only to revoke a broadcaster's license, FCC was reluctant to use its "death penalty" authority.

In a report based on its own investigation, released Feb. 6, the Harris Subcommittee went well beyond these recommendations, proposing in addition that FCC's authority to license and regulate individual stations be extended to the networks, and that strict controls be exercised over transfers of licenses -- a large, lucrative, and casually regulated side of the broadcasting business.

Neither of these provisions was contained in a bill reported June 13 by the House Commerce Committee, also headed by Rep. Harris. But the measure included stiff penalties for deceptive practices and authorized the FCC to suspend any license for 10 days, as well as levy fines up to \$1,000 a day, for stipulated misconduct. After four days of debate, much of it directed at the "tyrannical" and "oppressive" suspension authority, the House passed the bill June 28 with minor revisions.

Following the exhaustively-broadcast political conventions in July, the Senate Commerce Committee approved the House bill after deleting the FCC's authority to suspend licenses and putting a \$10,000 ceiling on the fines it could impose. The Senate passed the bill as amended Aug. 25, and the House concurred in the changes Aug. 30. Payola would be taboo henceforth, but the industry had been spared a worse fate at the hands of a divided Congress.

Regulatory Agencies

Devising a legislative remedy for the tangible evils of fix and payola in broadcasting was one thing. It was quite another matter, however, to prescribe an antidote for the smog of "influence" blanketing the decisions of the powerful federal regulatory agencies -- particularly the FCC, the Federal Power Commission, and the Civil Aeronautics Board, each of which exercises make-or-break authority over vast economic domains.

With millions of dollars riding on the agencies' rate-making, licensing, and certification rulings, the regulated industries had never made a secret of their efforts to assure the appointment of commissioners sympathetic to their causes. How much further they would go to protect their own interests was rarely subject to proof, as for example in the 1958 scandal over Miami's Channel 10 award. Yet it was clear from the continuing investigations of the Harris Subcommittee that "influence" was a pervasive and debilitating virus in the world of the so-called "independent" agencies.

Pointing up the problem in 1960 were such items as the resignation March 10 of FCC Chairman John C. Doerfer in the wake of a yacht trip as the guest of a major broadcaster, and the disclosure of private talks between Attorney Thomas G. Corcoran and FPC members concerning a pipeline rate case. Both episodes bore directly on the central issue of "ex parte" or off-the-record contacts between the regulators and regulated.

The remedy proposed by Rep. Harris, and reported July 1 by the House Commerce Committee, was a bill to proscribe as "improper" any attempt to influence agency decisions through "secret and devious means," including pressure, the spreading of false information, and pecuniary or other inducements. To that end, off-the-record communications on pending matters would be subject to criminal penalties of fine and imprisonment. Agency personnel having improper relations with the regulated industries would be disciplined by their agencies.

A complex measure on a complicated problem, the bill failed to reach the floor before adjournment. It marked the beginning, however, of what promised to be a growing interest in tackling some long-neglected issues in the regulatory field.

Conflict of Interest: The closely related problem of dealing with conflicts of interest on the part of any Government official or employee won new attention when a special committee of the New York City Bar Assn., headed by Roswell B. Perkins, issued a report Feb. 22 of its two-year study of federal law on the subject, together with the text of a proposed Executive Conflict of Interest Act. House hearings were held, but further action was deferred until 1961. The House did pass a bill April 7, to bar retired officers from negotiating procurement contracts within two years of their release from service, but the Senate took no action.

Other general matters considered in 1960: **Judgeships:** No one disputed the need to create additional federal judgeships to handle a rising volume of litigation (some of it backed up for years on overcrowded dockets), but for the third year in a row a Democratic Congress refused to give a Republican President the opportunity to fill these additional lifetime jobs. On the basis of Administration assurances that the appointments would be split 50-50 between Democrats and Republicans, the House Judiciary Committee reported a bill June 15 to create 35 new judgeships -- 10 fewer than asked by Attorney General Rogers but 10 more than provided in a bill reported to the Senate late in 1959. Neither measure came to a vote, however. With all bets riding on the outcome of the 1960 election, Democrats rejected a half-loaf in hopes of winning the whole loaf.

Obscene Mail: Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield's long campaign for tighter laws against the traffic in pornography inched forward when Congress completed action July 2 on a bill authorizing the courts to permit the Post Office to detain obscene mail until the conclusion of legal proceedings -- a longer period than the 20-day detention permitted under previous law. The Senate also passed a bill June 30 creating a Commission on Noxious and Obscene Matters and Materials to study the entire problem, but the House took no action.

Juvenile Delinquency: Congress also failed to complete action on a measure designed to combat a rising tide of juvenile delinquency. The Senate passed a bill Jan. 26 to authorize a five-year, \$25-million program of federal aid to state, community, and non-profit agencies, to develop improved methods and trained personnel for dealing with delinquency. A similar bill was reported May 18 by the House Education and Labor Committee, but it never reached the House floor.

Drivers' Licenses: A bill approved July 2 directed the Department of Commerce to maintain a register of persons whose driver permits are revoked for drunken driving or conviction of traffic offenses involving death. The names would be furnished voluntarily by state and local authorities, who in turn would be authorized to consult the register.

Hazardous Substances: Congress also enacted a bill June 28 requiring manufacturers of household products to so label them if hazardous, to list the ingredients in the products and, if necessary, an antidote. It was designed to encourage establishment of "uniform, adequate, modern labeling requirements by the various states."

Freedom Commission: "One of the most important bills ever to be introduced in Congress," according to sponsor Sen. Karl E. Mundt (R S.D.), was passed by the Senate Aug. 31, establishing a Freedom Commission to operate a Freedom Academy for research and training in cold-war activities. Opposed by the Justice Department on grounds of duplication of effort, the bill failed to win House approval.

Summary of 20 Key Votes in Senate and House

Members of Congress enjoy ample opportunity to influence the course of legislation in a variety of ways. Only by the roll-call vote, however, is it possible to establish beyond question the public record of a Member on the issues. Three hundred such votes were tallied during the second session of the 86th Congress -- 207 in the Senate and 93 in the House. From this number Congressional Quarterly selected 20 as Key Votes, ten from each chamber. The stand taken by each member on these votes is recorded in the charts beginning on the next page. The issues at stake are summarized below.

Senate

1. An ambitious, long-term proposal for federal aid to education was barely defeated when, on a motion to reconsider the matter, Vice President Nixon broke a 44-44 tie by voting to table the motion. (p. 13)

2. The determination of Senate leaders to limit the scope of civil rights legislation in 1960 was first attested when a bipartisan majority voted 55-38 to table a strong injunction provision. (p. 17)

3. The prevailing mood was then confirmed when the Senate refused to strengthen the voting rights provision, voting 51-43 to table an amendment to permit either court-appointed referees or Presidentially-appointed enrollment officers to register persons discriminated against. (p. 17)

4. A five-year deadlock between Congress and the President over depressed area legislation was continued when the Senate, by a 45-39 vote, failed to override his veto of a \$251 million bill. (p. 14)

5. After first accepting, then rejecting, a sharp reduction in price supports to stem a mounting tide of surplus wheat, the Senate voted 44-36 for a bill freezing supports at 75 percent of parity while cutting acreage by 20 percent. (p. 16)

6. Major tax revision was not on the agenda in 1960, but the partisan cleavage over "loopholes" was pointed up when the Senate voted 42-41 to repeal the 4 percent dividend credit granted in 1954. (p. 9)

7. The President's veto of an \$800 million pay raise for postal and other federal workers proved to be the second and last of his eight-year Administration to be overridden, when the Senate seconded the earlier House vote, 74-24. (p. 19)

8. With opposition to Sen. Kennedy's minimum wage bill focused on the extension of coverage to 5 million additional workers, more than the raise to \$1.25 in the hourly minimum, an amendment limiting the extension to 280,000 new workers was rejected, by a vote of 39-56. (p. 15)

9. Liberal Democrats lost a key election-year battle when Republicans voted solidly with Southern Democrats to reject a plan for providing medical care benefits to the aged under the Social Security system, on a 44-51 roll call. (p. 12)

10. Bipartisan support for the much-criticized Mutual Security Program was demonstrated once more on adjournment eve, when the Senate voted 56-31 to restore \$190 million cut from the program earlier on House insistence. (p. 2)

House

1. The effectiveness of President Eisenhower's veto power, despite the 2-to-1 Democratic majority in the 86th Congress, was again demonstrated when the House, by a 249-157 vote, failed to override his veto of a water pollution bill. (p. 13)

2. The voting rights provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 was shaped largely by the House when it voted 295-124 for an amendment, modeled on the Administration's plan, providing for appointment of referees to register voters where a "pattern or practice" of discrimination was found. (p. 17)

3. Both parties were split by a bill (HR 5) granting tax incentives to private investment in underdeveloped areas. Passed by the House, 196-192, the bill died in the Senate. (p. 5)

4. The House version of an aid-to-education bill, calling for \$1.3 billion in federal grants to the states for school construction over a four-year period, skinned through by a vote of 206-189 only to die in the Rules Committee. (p. 13)

5. In a rare display of independence, the House voted 212-173 to restore one-half of a \$400 million cut ordered by its Appropriation Committee in the President's \$2-billion request for military aid under the Mutual Security Program. (p. 2)

6. Hopes for a workable wheat bill vanished when Eastern Democrats joined Republicans in opposing a measure offering price supports at 85 percent of parity in return for a 25 percent cut in acreage, which was defeated 171-236. (p. 16)

7. Barred under a closed rule from offering any amendments, the House agreed reluctantly, 223-174, to pass a bill extending corporate income and excise tax rates for another year without change. (p. 9)

8. Minimum wage legislation, destined to expire before enactment, was first denatured by the House, when it voted 211-203 to substitute a bill cutting the proposed minimum from \$1.25 to \$1.15 and new coverage from 3.5 million to 1.4 million. (p. 15)

9. For the first and last time, a majority of House Republicans deserted the President to help override his veto of an \$800 million pay raise for federal workers, on a 345-69 vote. (p. 19)

10. The refusal of the Port of New York Authority (a joint New York-New Jersey agency created under an interstate compact approved by Congress) to produce records subpoenaed by a House subcommittee set off a new states' rights fight when the House voted 270-124 to cite the Authority's chairman for contempt.

Senate Key Votes on Aid to Education, Civil Rights, Area Redevelopment, Wheat Bill, Dividend Credit

1. S 8. Emergency Federal Assistance for School Construction. Dirksen (R Ill.) motion to table a motion to reconsider a 44-44 vote rejecting Clark (D Pa.) amendment to authorize \$25 per school-age child, or \$1.1 billion per year for an indefinite period for school construction and/or teachers' salaries. Tabling motion agreed to when Vice President Nixon voted "yea" to break a 44-44 tie (D 16-40; R 28-4), Feb. 3, 1960. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.
2. Civil Rights Proposals. Johnson (D Texas) motion to table Case (R S.D.) amendment to the pending Administration bill to add Part III, empowering the Attorney General to seek injunctions to protect any civil right. Tabling motion agreed to 55-38 (D 34-28; R 21-10), March 10, 1960. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.
3. Civil Rights Proposals. Morse (D Ore.) motion to table a Javits (R N.Y.)-Clark (D Pa.) amendment to the third section of the Administration bill, to provide for court-appointed referees or Presidentially appointed enrollment officers to register Negroes after a court has found a pattern or practice

of discrimination. Tabling motion agreed to 51-43 (D 27-35; R 24-8), March 24, 1960. The President did not take a position on the motion.

4. S 722. Area Redevelopment Act of 1960, authorizing federal loans and grants totaling \$251 million for the relief of economically depressed areas. Passage of the bill over the President's veto (two-thirds majority required). Failed to pass 45-39 (D 40-14; R 5-25), May 24, 1960 (56 "yeas" were required to override the veto). A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.
5. S 2759. Wheat Act of 1960. Passage of the bill as amended. Passed 44-36 (D 32-19; R 12-17), June 9, 1960. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.
6. HR 12381. To extend for one year the existing corporation income and certain excise tax rates. McCarthy (D Minn.) amendment to repeal the 4 percent tax credit allowed since 1954 on dividend income. Agreed to 42-41 (D 39-12; R 3-29), June 20, 1960. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

TOTAL							DEMOCRATIC							REPUBLICAN						
Vote No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	Vote No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	Vote No.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Yea	44	55	51	45	44	42	Yea	16	34	27	40	32	39	Yea	28	21	24	5	12	3
Nay	44	38	43	39	36	41	Nay	40	28	35	14	19	12	Nay	4	10	8	25	17	29

1 2 3 4 5 6							1 2 3 4 5 6							1 2 3 4 5 6						
ALABAMA							INDIANA							NEBRASKA						
Hill	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Hartke	N	N	N	Y	Y	†	Curtis	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
Sparkman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	†	Capehart	?	†	✓	-	N	N	Hruska	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
ALASKA							IOWA							NEVADA						
Bartlett	N	N	N	✓	N	Y	Hickenlooper	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Bible	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Gruening	N	N	N	Y	✓	Y	Martin	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Cannon	N	N	N	✓	Y	Y
ARIZONA							KANSAS							NEW HAMPSHIRE						
Hayden	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Carlson	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Bridges	Y	Y	Y	N	-	
Goldwater	Y	Y	✓	N	-		Schoeppel	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Cotton	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
ARKANSAS							KENTUCKY							NEW JERSEY						
Fulbright	N	Y	Y	X	Y	Y	Cooper	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Williams	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
McClellan	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Morton	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Case	Y	N	N	✓	Y	N
CALIFORNIA							LOUISIANA							NEW MEXICO						
Engle	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Ellender	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Anderson	N	Y	Y	Y	✓	N
Kuchel	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Long	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Chavez	N	Y	Y	Y	✓	N
COLORADO							MAINE							NEW YORK						
Carroll	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Muskie	-	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Javits	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Allott	✓	N	Y	N	N	N	Smith	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Keating	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT							MARYLAND							NORTH CAROLINA						
Dodd	N	X	-	Y	Y	Y	Beall	Y	N	Y	✓	N	-	Ervin	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Bush	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Butler	Y	Y	Y	N	X	N	Jordan	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	N
DELAWARE							MASSACHUSETTS							NORTH DAKOTA						
Frear	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Kennedy	N	N	N	Y	X	†	Brunsdale	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Williams	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Saltonstall	Y	Y	Y	N	?	†	Young	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
FLORIDA							MICHIGAN							OHIO						
Holland	✓	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Hart	N	N	N	Y	-	Y	Lausche	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Smathers	?	Y	Y	X	?	N	McNamara	N	N	N	✓	N	†	Young	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
GEORGIA							MINNESOTA							OKLAHOMA						
Russell	Y	Y	Y	N	✓	Y	Humphrey	N	N	N	Y	N	†	Kerr	N	Y	Y	Y	N	?
Talmadge	Y	Y	Y	X	Y	Y	McCarthy	N	N	X	Y	N	Y	Monroney	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
HAWAII							MISSISSIPPI							OREGON						
Long	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Eastland	✓	Y	Y	N	Y	-	Morse	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Fong	Y	†	Y	?	N	N	Stennis	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Lusk†		N	Y	Y	Y	Y
IDAHO							MISSOURI							PENNSYLVANIA						
Church	N	N	N	✓	N	Y	Flemming	N	N	N	✓	?	†	Clark	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Dworsbak	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Symington	N	N	N	Y	X	Y	Scott	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
ILLINOIS							MONTANA							RHODE ISLAND						
Douglas	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Mansfield	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Green	N	N	Y	Y	?	?
Dirksen	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Murray	-	Y	N	Y	-	†	Pastore	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

Y Record Vote For (yea).
✓ Paired For.
† Announced For, CQ Poll For.
N Record Vote Against (nay).
X Paired Against.
- Announced Against, CQ Poll Against.
? Absent, General Pair, "Present," Did not announce or answer Poll.

Democrats in this type; Republicans in Italics

† Suorn is March 23 as successor to Richard L. Neuberger (D) who died March 9.

Senate Key Votes on Pay Raise Veto, Minimum Wage, Medical Care Benefits, Mutual Security Funds

7. HR 9883. Postal and Federal Employees' Salary Increase Acts of 1960, providing an across-the-board 7% percent pay increase for 1.6 million postal, classified and other federal employees. Passage of the bill over the President's veto (two-thirds majority required). Passed 74-24 (D 55-9; R 19-15), July 1, 1960 (66 "yeas" were needed to override). A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.
8. S 3758. Fair Labor Standards Act amendments, increasing minimum hourly wage to \$1.25 and extending coverage to an additional 5 million workers. Holland (D Fla.) amendment to reduce the number of new workers to be covered to about 280,000. Rejected 39-56 (D 19-44; R 20-12), Aug.

17, 1960. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

9. HR 12580. Social Security Amendments of 1960. Anderson (D N.M.) amendment providing medical benefits for all Social Security retirees 68 and over, to be financed by an increase in the Social Security payroll tax. Rejected 44-51 (D 31-19; R 1-32), Aug. 23, 1960. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.
10. HR 13161. Second Supplemental Appropriation Act for fiscal 1961. Committee amendments providing \$190 million for the Mutual Security Program. Agreed to, en bloc, 56-31 (D 31-23; R 25-8), Aug. 29, 1960. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

TOTAL					DEMOCRATIC					REPUBLICAN				
Vote No.	7	8	9	10	Vote No.	7	8	9	10	Vote No.	7	8	9	10
Yea	74	39	44	56	Yea	55	19	43	31	Yea	19	20	1	25
Nay	24	56	51	31	Nay	9	44	19	23	Nay	15	12	32	8

7 8 9 10					7 8 9 10					7 8 9 10					Y Record Vote For (yea). ✓ Paired For. ‡ Announced For, CQ Poll For. M Record Vote Against (nay). X Paired Against. - Announced Against, CQ Poll Against. ? Absent, General Pair, "Present," Did not announce or answer Poll.
7 8 9 10					7 8 9 10					7 8 9 10					
ALABAMA					INDIANA					NEBRASKA					SOUTH CAROLINA Johnston Y N ? N Thurmond N Y N N SOUTH DAKOTA Case N Y N Y Mundt Y Y N Y TENNESSEE Gore Y N Y ‡ Kefauver Y - Y Y TEXAS Johnson Y N Y Y Yarborough Y N Y Y UTAH Moss Y N Y N Bennett N Y N Y VERMONT Aiken Y N N Y Prouty Y N N Y VIRGINIA Byrd N Y N N Robertson Y Y N X WASHINGTON Jackson Y N Y Y Magnuson Y N Y Y WEST VIRGINIA Byrd Y N Y N Randolph Y N Y Y WISCONSIN Proxmire Y N Y N Wiley Y Y N Y WYOMING McGee Y N Y Y O'Mahoney Y N Y N
Hill	Y	N	N	N	Harke	Y	N	Y	‡	Curtis	N	Y	N	N	
Sparkman	Y	N	N	X	Capehart	Y	Y	N	N	Hruska	N	Y	N	N	
ALASKA					IOWA					NEVADA					
Bartlett	Y	N	Y	Y	Hickenlooper	N	Y	N	Y	Bible	Y	N	Y	N	
Gruening	Y	N	Y	N	Martin	? ? ? ?				Cannon	Y	N	Y	Y	
ARIZONA					KANSAS					NEW HAMPSHIRE					
Hayden	Y	Y	Y	Y	Carlson	N	Y	N	Y	Bridges	N	Y	N	Y	
Goldwater	N	Y	N	N	Schoeppel	Y	Y	N	N	Cotton	Y	Y	N	Y	
ARKANSAS					KENTUCKY					NEW JERSEY					
Fulbright	Y	Y	X	✓	Cooper	Y	N	Y	N	Williams	Y	N	Y	Y	
McClellan	N	Y	N	N	Morton	N	✓	N	Y	Case	Y	N	Y	Y	
CALIFORNIA					LOUISIANA					NEW MEXICO					
Engle	Y	N	Y	Y	Ellender	Y	Y	N	N	Anderson	Y	N	Y	Y	
Kuchel	Y	N	N	Y	Long	Y	Y	N	N	Chavez	Y	Y	Y	N	
COLORADO					MAINE					NEW YORK					
Carroll	Y	N	Y	Y	Muskie	Y -	Y	Y		Javits	Y	N	N	Y	
Allott	Y	N	N	Y	Smith	Y	N	N	Y	Keating	Y	N	N	Y	
CONNECTICUT					MARYLAND					NORTH CAROLINA					
Dodd	Y	N	Y	Y	Beall	Y	Y	N	Y	Ervin	N	Y	N	N	
Bush	N	Y	N	Y	Butler	Y	Y	N	Y	Jordan	Y	Y	N	N	
DELAWARE					MASSACHUSETTS					NORTH DAKOTA					
Frear	Y	Y	N	N	Kennedy	Y	N	Y	Y	Burdick †	N	✓	Y		
Williams	N	Y	N	N	Saltonstall	N	N	N	Y	Young	Y	Y	N	N	
FLORIDA					MICHIGAN					OHIO					
Holland	N	Y	N	Y	Hart	Y	N	Y	Y	Lausche	N	N	Y	Y	
Smathers	Y	Y	N	X	McNamara	Y	N	Y	‡	Young	N	N	Y	Y	
GEORGIA					MINNESOTA					OKLAHOMA					
Russell	N	Y	N	N	Humphrey	Y	N	Y	✓	Kerr	Y	N	N	X	
Talmadge	Y	Y	N	N	McCarthy	Y	N	Y	Y	Monroney	Y	N	N	Y	
HAWAII					MISSISSIPPI					OREGON					
Long	Y	N	Y	Y	Eastland	Y	Y	N	N	Morse	Y	N	Y	Y	
Fong	Y	N	N	Y	Stennis	Y	Y	N	N	Lusk	N	Y	Y	Y	
IDAHO					MISSOURI					PENNSYLVANIA					
Church	Y	N	Y	Y	Hennings*	‡	X	‡	‡	Clark	Y	N	Y	Y	
Dworsbak	N	Y	N	N	Symington	Y	N	Y	Y	Scott	Y	N	N	Y	
ILLINOIS					MONTANA					RHODE ISLAND					
Douglas	Y	N	Y	✓	Mansfield	Y	N	Y	N	Green	Y	N	Y	Y	
Dirksen	N	Y	N	Y	Murray	Y	N	Y	N	Pastore	Y	N	Y	✓	

*Thomas C. Hennings Jr. died Sept. 13, 1960.

†Quentin Burdick sworn in Aug. 8, replacing C. Norman Brunndage.

Democrats in this type; Republicans in italics

House Key Votes on Pollution Grants Veto, Civil Rights, Foreign Investment, School Bill, Military Aid, Wheat

1. HR 3610. Amend the 1948 Water Pollution Control Act by raising to \$90 million annually the federal contributions for sewage plant construction. Passage of the bill over the President's veto (two-thirds majority required). Failed to pass 249-157 (D 234-27; R 15-130), Feb. 25, 1960. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.
2. HR 8601. Civil Rights Act of 1960. McCulloch (R Ohio)-Celler (D N.Y.) amendment embodying the Administration's proposal for court-appointed referees to help Negroes register and vote where a "pattern or practice" of discrimination exists. Agreed to 295-124 (D 172-100; R 123-24), March 23, 1960. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.
3. HR 5. Foreign Investment Incentive Tax Act of 1960, deferring tax payments on earnings of U.S.-owned Foreign Business Corporations in underdeveloped countries until the money is returned to this country. Passed 196-192 (D 130-115; R 66-77), May 18, 1960. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.
4. HR 10128. School Construction Assistance Act of 1960, authorizing \$325 million a year for four years in federal matching grants to the states for public school construction. Passage of the bill. Passed 206-189 (D 162-97; R 44-92), May 26, 1960. The President did not take a position on the bill.
5. HR 12619. Mutual Security and related agencies appropriations for fiscal 1961. Taber (R N.Y.) amendment to restore \$200 million of a \$400 million cut in the President's request for military assistance. Agreed to 212-173 (D 105-139; R 107-34), June 17, 1960. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.
6. HR 12261. Farm Surplus Reduction Act of 1960. Passage of the amended bill, which offered wheat growers a choice between a 25 percent cut in production, with supports at 85 percent of parity, or unrestricted production with supports at about 60 percent. Rejected 171-236 (D 162-100; R 9-136), June 23, 1960. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

TOTAL							DEMOCRATIC							REPUBLICAN						
Vote No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	Vote No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	Vote No.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Yes	249	295	196	206	212	171	Yes	234	172	130	162	105	162	Yes	15	123	66	44	107	9
May	157	124	192	189	173	236	May	27	100	115	97	139	100	May	130	24	77	92	34	136

1 2 3 4 5 6							1 2 3 4 5 6							1 2 3 4 5 6							- KEY -											
ALABAMA							25 Kasem Y Y Y Y ? Y							HAWAII							Y Record Vote For (yea).											
3 Andrews	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	17 King	Y	Y	Y	Y	✓	Y	AL Inouye	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	✓ Paired For.											
1 Boykin	?	N	Y	N	?	Y	26 Roosevelt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	IDAHO							† Announced For, CQ Poll For.											
7 Elliott	Y	N	✓	N	N	Y	21 Hiestand	N	Y	N	X	Y	N	1 Pfost	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N					
2 Grant	Y	N	✓	N	N	Y	22 Holt	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	2 Budge	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N					
9 Huddleston	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	18 Hosmer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	ILLINOIS							N Record Vote Against (nay).											
8 Jones	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	16 Jackson	N	X	?	N	Y	N	25 Gray	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
5 Rains	✓	N	N	N	N	Y	24 Lipscomb	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	21 Mack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
4 Roberts	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	15 McDonough	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	24 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
6 Selden	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	20 Smith	N	N	N	N	N	N	23 Shipley	Y	Y	N	Y	X	Y	X	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
ALASKA							COLORADO							16 Allen	N	Y	?	N	N	N	N											
AL Rivers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	4 Aspinall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	17 Arends	N	✓	Y	X	✓	N												
ARIZONA							2 Johnson	Y	Y	✓	Y	?	Y	19 Chislerfield	N	✓	N	Y	Y	Y												
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	1 Rogers	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	14 Hoffman	N	Y	N	N	N	N												
1 Rhodes	N	N	N	N	Y	N	3 Cbenoweth	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	15 Mason	X	N	N	N	?	N	N											
ARKANSAS							CONNECTICUT							18 Michel	N	Y	N	N	N	N												
5 Alford	✓	N	N	N	N	✓	2 Bowles	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	20 Simpson	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y												
1 Gathings	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	1 Daddario	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	22 Springer	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y											
4 Harris	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	3 Giaimo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Chicago-Cook County							3 Gross	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y		
2 Mills	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	4 Irwin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	12 Vacancy	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
6 Norrell	N	N	N	X	N	Y	AL Kowalski	Y	Y	Y	Y	X	N	1 Dawson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
3 Trimble	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	5 Monagan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	5 Kluczynski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
CALIFORNIA							DELAWARE							7 Libonati	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y				
7 Cohelan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	AL McDowell	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	3 Murphy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
14 Hagen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	FLORIDA							2 O'Brien	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
2 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	2 Bennett	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	2 O'Hara	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
11 McFall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	4 Fascell	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	11 Pucinski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
1 Miller (C.W.)	Y	Y	N	✓	N	N	7 Haley	N	N	N	N	N	N	8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
8 Miller (G.P.)	✓	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	5 Herlong	N	N	Y	N	N	N	9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
3 Moss	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	8 Matthews	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	13 Church	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
29 Saudt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	6 Rogers	N	N	Y	N	N	N	10 Collier	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
5 Shelley	✓	Y	Y	Y	✓	N	3 Sikes	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	4 Derwinski	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
27 Sheppard	✓	✓	X	?	X	Y	1 Cramer	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	INDIANA							KENTUCKY											
12 Sisk	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	GEORGIA							11 Barr	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
6 Baldwin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	8 Blitch	Y	N	-	N	X	Y	3 Brademas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
10 Gubser	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	10 Brown	N	Y	N	N	N	N	8 Denton	Y	Y	Y	Y	X	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
4 Mailliard	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	5 Davis	N	N	N	N	N	N	10 Harman	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
13 Teague	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	4 Flynt	N	N	N	N	N	N	9 Hagan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
28 Utt	N	N	N	N	N	Y	3 Forrester	N	N	N	N	N	N	1 Madden	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
30 Wilson	N	Y	Y	N	?	N	9 Landrum	Y	N	?	N	N	N	5 Roush	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
9 Younger	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	7 Mitchell	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y	6 Wampler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
Los Angeles County							2 Pilcher	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	4 Adair	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y				
23 Doyle	Y	Y	Y	✓	Y	Y	1 Preston	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	7 Bray	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					
19 Holifield	Y	Y	N	Y	✓	Y	6 Vinson	Y	N	?	N	Y	Y	2 Halleck	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y					

Democrats in this type; *Republicans in Italics*

Key Votes - 4

1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6				
6 Morrison	Y	N	Y	X	✓	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	7 Lennon	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	6 McMillan	N	N	N	N	N	‡		
5 Passman	Y	N	-	N	N	Y	3 Brock	Y	Y	N	N	Y	5 Scott	Y	N	X	-	N	2 Riley	Y	N	N	N	N	Y		
7 Thompson	Y	N	✓	?	X	?	4 McGinley	Y	Y	N	N	N	11 Whitener	Y	N	N	N	N	1 Rivers	Y	N	N	N	N	N		
3 Willis	Y	N	?	?	X	Y	2 Cunningham	N	Y	N	N	N	10 Jonas	N	N	N	N	N	1 McGovern	Y	Y	Y	Y	✓	Y		
MAINE							1 Weaver	N	Y	N	N	N	NORTH DAKOTA						2 Berry	N	N	N	N	Y	Y		
2 Coffin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	NEVADA						AL Burdick	Y	N	Y	?	Y	TENNESSEE								
1 Oliver	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	AL Baring	✓	‡	X	Y	N	AL Short	N	N	-	N	N	6 Bass	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y		
3 McIntire	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	NEW HAMPSHIRE						9 Ashley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	9 Davis	Y	N	✓	N	N	Y		
MARYLAND							2 Bass	N	Y	Y	N	‡	N	11 Cook	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	8 Everett	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	
2 Brewster	Y	Y	✓	Y	Y	N	1 Merrow	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	X	20 Feighan	✓	Y	N	Y	Y	4 Evins	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	
4 Fallon	?	Y	N	Y	Y	N	NEW JERSEY						18 Hays	Y	Y	N	Y	N	3 Frazier	Y	N	Y	N	N	?		
6 Foley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	11 Addonizio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	19 Kirwan	Y	Y	N	Y	X	5 Loser	Y	N	Y	N	✓	N	
7 Friedel	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	14 Daniels	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	17 Levering	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	7 Murray	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	
3 Garmatz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	13 Gallagher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	10 Moeller	Y	Y	N	✓	N	2 Baker	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	
1 Johnson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	10 Rodino	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	6 Vacancy	Y	Y	N	✓	N	1 Reece	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	
5 Lankford	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	N	4 Thompson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	21 Vanik	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	TEXAS							
MASSACHUSETTS							3 Auchincloss	N	Y	Y	✓	Y	N	14 Ayres	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3 Beckworth	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Boland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	1 Cabill	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	13 Baumhart	N	Y	-	Y	Y	Y	2 Brooks	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
13 Burke	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	8 Canfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	6 Betts	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	17 Burleson	-	N	N	N	N	N
4 Dunahue	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	6 Dwyer	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	22 Bolton	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	22 Casey	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
7 Lane	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	5 Frelinghuysen	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	16 Bow	X	N	N	N	✓	N	7 Dowdy	N	N	N	N	N	N
8 Macdonald	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	2 Glenn	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	7 Brown	N	Y	N	N	N	N	21 Fisher	Y	N	N	N	N	N
12 McCormack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	9 Osmers	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	12 Devine	N	Y	N	N	N	N	13 Ikard	Y	Y	Y	N	✓	Y
11 O'Neill	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	12 Wallhauser	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	15 Henderson	N	Y	N	N	N	N	20 Kilday	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Philbin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	7 Widnall	✓	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	2 Hess	N	N	N	-	Y	X	15 Kilgore	✓	Y	N	N	N	Y
6 Bates	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	NEW MEXICO							5 Latta	N	Y	N	N	N	N	19 Mahon	X	Y	N	N	N	Y
1 Conte	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	AL Montoya	Y	‡	N	Y	N	Y	4 McCulloch	N	Y	N	N	N	N	1 Patman	Y	N	-	N	N	Y
10 Curtis	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	AL Morris	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	23 Minsball	X	‡	Y	N	Y	N	11 Poage	Y	N	Y	X	N	Y
9 Keith	N	Y	Y	N	‡	N	NEW YORK							3 Schenck	N	Y	N	N	N	N	4 Rayburn	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 Martin	Y	Y	N	✓	Y	N	41 Dulski	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	1 Scherer	N	Y	N	N	N	N	18 Rogers	N	N	?	N	N	Y
5 Rogers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	30 O'Brien	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	OKLAHOMA							16 Rutherford	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
MICHIGAN							32 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	3 Albert	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	6 Teague	✓	N	?	N	N	Y
7 O'Hara	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	27 Barry	X	Y	Y	X	N	N	2 Edmondson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	✓	8 Thomas	Y	N	?	N	N	Y
12 Bennett	Y	N	-	Y	N	N	3 Becker	X	Y	N	Y	N	N	5 Jarman	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	9 Thompson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Bentley	Y	Y	Y	✓	✓	N	2 Derounian	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	6 Morris	Y	N	?	Y	?	?	10 Thornberry	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Broomfield	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	26 Dooley	N	Y	Y	X	Y	N	4 Stead	Y	‡	N	Y	N	‡	12 Wright	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Cedarberg	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	33 Kilburn	N	X	X	X	Y	N	1 Belcher	N	Y	N	N	N	N	14 Young	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Chamberlain	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	40 Miller	N	Y	Y	Y	X	N	OREGON							5 Alger	N	N	N	N	N	N
5 Ford	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	39 Ostertag	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	3 Green	Y	Y	✓	Y	Y	Y	UTAH						
9 Griffin	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	42 Pillion	N	Y	-	N	Y	N	4 Porter	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2 King	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Hoffman	N	N	Y	N	X	N	34 Pirnie	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	1 Dixon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Jobansen	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	43 Goodell	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	1 Norblad	N	Y	N	N	N	N	VERMONT						
11 Knox	N	N	Y	N	N	N	35 Riehlman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	PENNSYLVANIA							AL Meyer	Y	Y	N	Y	X	N
2 Meader	N	N	Y	N	N	N	37 Robison	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	25 Clark	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	VIRGINIA						
Detroit-Wayne County							28 St. George	N	Y	N	X	Y	N	21 Dent	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	4 Abbutt	N	N	N	N	N	N
13 Diggs	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	36 Taber	N	N	N	N	Y	N	11 Flood	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	1 Downing	N	N	Y	N	N	N
15 Dingell	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	31 Taylor	N	Y	X	Y	✓	X	30 Holland	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	3 Gary	N	N	Y	N	N	N
7 Griffiths	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	1 Wainwright	X	Y	Y	Y	‡	X	28 Moorhead	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2 Hardy	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
16 Lesinski	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	38 Weis	N	Y	Y	✓	Y	N	26 Morgan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	7 Harrison	N	Y	N	N	N	N
1 Machrowicz	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	29 Wharton	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	19 Prokop	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	9 Jennings	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
14 Rabaut	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	New York City							14 Rhodes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	8 Smith	N	Y	N	N	N	N
MINNESOTA							8 Anuso	Y	Y	Y	✓	✓	✓	15 Walter	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	5 Tuck	N	N	Y	X	N	N
8 Blatnik	Y	Y	N	✓	N	Y	24 Buckley	Y	Y	✓	✓	✓	✓	17 Schneebeli†	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	10 Broyhill	N	N	N	Y	Y	X
4 Karth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	11 Celler	Y	Y	Y	Y	✓	N	29 Corbett	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	6 Poff	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Marshall	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	7 Delaney	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	8 Curtin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	WASHINGTON						
3 Wier	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	23 Gilbert	Y	✓	Y	Y	N	N	9 Dague	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	7 Magnuson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Andersen	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	19 Farbstein	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	12 Fenton	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	5 Horan	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
1 Quie	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	22 Healey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	27 Fulton	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	3 Vacancy	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
5 Judd	N	Y	✓	N	Y	Y	6 Holtzman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	23 Gavin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	4 May	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
9 Langen	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	10 Kelly	Y	Y	N	✓	X	‡	24 Kearns	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	1 Pelly	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Nelsen	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	9 Keogh	Y	Y	Y	Y	✓	✓	13 Lafore	N	Y	Y	?	Y	N	6 Tollefson	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSISSIPPI							13 Multer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	✓	7 Milliken	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2 Westland	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
1 Abernethy	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	16 Powell	Y	?	N	Y	N	N	16 Muma	N	Y	N	N	X	X	WEST VIRGINIA						
6 Colmer	?	N	N	N	N	N	14 Rooney	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	22 Saylor	Y	Y	N	-	N	N	3 Bailey	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
3 Smith	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	18 Santangelo	Y	Y	✓	Y	Y	Y	18 Elliott‡	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	4 Hechler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Whitten	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	20 Teller	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	20 Van Zandt	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	5 Kee	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Williams	N	N	X	N	N	N	21 Zelenko	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Philadelphia							6 Slack	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Winstead	N	N	N	N	N	Y	5 Bosch	N	Y	N	X	Y	N	1 Barrett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	2 Staggers	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MISSOURI							12 Dorn	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	3 Byrne	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	1 Moore	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
5 Bolling	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	25 Fino	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	2 Granahan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	WISCONSIN						
7 Brown	Y	Y	Y	Y	X	Y	4 Halpern	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	5 Green	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	1 Flynn	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
9 Cannon	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	17 Lindsay	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	4 Nix	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	9 Johnson						

House Key Votes on Tax Extension, Minimum Wage, Federal Pay Raise Veto, Contempt Citation

7. HR 12381. Public Debt and Tax Rate Extension Act of 1960. Passed 223-174 (D 140-114; R 83-60), June 8, 1960. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

8. HR 12677. Increase minimum wage protection under the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. Kitchin (D N.C.) substitute amendment for the Committee bill, extending \$1-an-hour wage protection but no overtime protection to employees of interstate retail chains and raising the hourly minimum for previously covered workers to \$1.15. Agreed to 211-203 (D 90-176; R 121-27), June 30, 1960. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

9. HR 9883. Postal and Federal Employees' Salary Increase Acts of 1960, providing an across-the-board 7½ percent pay increase for 1.6 million postal, classified and other federal employees. Passage of the bill over the President's veto (two-thirds majority required). Passed 345-69 (D 256-13; R 89-56), (276 "yeas" were needed to override), July 1, 1960. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

10. H Res 607. Citing S. Sloan Colt, chairman of the Port Authority of New York, for contempt of Congress for refusing to furnish subpoenaed documents to the House Judiciary Antitrust Subcommittee. Adopted 270-124 (D 207-44; R 63-80), Aug. 23, 1960. The President did not take a position on the citation.

TOTAL					DEMOCRATIC					REPUBLICAN				
Vote No.	7	8	9	10	Vote No.	7	8	9	10	Vote No.	7	8	9	10
Yea	223	211	345	270	Yea	140	90	256	207	Yea	83	121	89	63
Nay	174	203	69	124	Nay	114	176	13	44	Nay	60	27	56	80

7 8 9 10					7 8 9 10					7 8 9 10					- KEY -				
ALABAMA					25 Kasem					HAWAII					Y Record Vote For (yea). ✓ Paired For. ‡ Announced For, CQ Poll For. N Record Vote Against (nay). X Paired Against. - Announced Against, CQ Poll Against. ? Absent, General Pair, "Present," Did not announce or answer Poll.				
3 Andrews	N	Y	Y	N	17 King	Y	N	Y	Y	AL Inouye	Y	N	Y	Y					
1 Boykin	?	Y	Y	Y	26 Roosevelt	Y	N	Y	Y	IDAHO					7 8 9 10				
7 Elliott	Y	N	Y	N	21 Hiestand	N	Y	Y	N	1 Pfost	N	N	Y	Y					
2 Grant	N	Y	Y	?	22 Holt	N	N	Y	N	2 Budge	Y	Y	N	N	IOWA				
9 Huddleston	N	Y	Y	Y	18 Hosmer	Y	Y	Y	N	ILLINOIS									
8 Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	16 Jackson	N	Y	X	Y	25 Gray	N	N	Y	Y	6 Coad	N	N	Y	Y
5 Rains	Y	N	Y	N	24 Lipscomb	Y	Y	Y	Y	21 Mack	Y	N	Y	Y	5 Smith	N	N	Y	Y
4 Roberts	Y	N	Y	N	15 McDonough	?	Y	Y	Y	24 Price	Y	N	Y	Y	2 Wolf	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Selden	Y	Y	Y	N	20 Smith	N	Y	Y	Y	23 Shipley	N	N	Y	Y	3 Gross	N	Y	N	N
ALASKA					COLORADO					16 Allen	Y	Y	N	Y	8 Hoeven	Y	Y	N	N
AL Rivers	Y	N	Y	Y	4 Aspinall	Y	N	Y	Y	17 Arends	Y	Y	N	Y	7 Jensen	N	Y	Y	N
ARIZONA					2 Johnson	Y	N	Y	Y	19 Chipfield	Y	Y	N	Y	4 Kyl	N	Y	Y	N
2 Udall	Y	N	Y	?	1 Rogers	N	N	Y	Y	14 Hoffman	N	Y	N	Y	1 Schwengel	N	Y	N	N
1 Rhodes	Y	Y	N	N	3 Chenoweth	Y	Y	Y	Y	15 Mason	N	Y	✓	N	KANSAS				
ARKANSAS					CONNECTICUT					18 Michel	N	Y	Y	Y	5 Breeding	N	N	Y	Y
5 Alford	?	?	?	Y	2 Bowles	N	X	?	?	20 Simpson	N	Y	N	Y	2 George	N	N	Y	Y
1 Gathings	Y	Y	Y	N	1 Daddario	Y	N	Y	Y	22 Springer	Y	Y	Y	Y	3 Hargis	N	N	Y	Y
4 Harris	Y	Y	Y	Y	3 Giaino	N	N	Y	Y	Chicago-Cook County					1 Avery	Y	Y	X	Y
2 Mills	Y	Y	Y	Y	4 Irwin	Y	N	Y	Y	12 Vacancy					4 Rees	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Norrell	Y	Y	N	?	AL Kowalski	N	N	Y	Y	1 Dawson	Y	N	Y	?	6 Smith	N	Y	N	?
3 Trimble	Y	N	Y	Y	5 Monagan	Y	N	Y	Y	5 Kluczynski	Y	N	Y	Y	KENTUCKY				
CALIFORNIA					DELAWARE					7 Libonati	Y	N	Y	Y	3 Burke	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Cohelan	Y	N	Y	N	AL McDowell	Y	N	Y	N	3 Murphy	Y	N	Y	Y	4 Chelf	N	Y	Y	Y
14 Hagen	Y	N	Y	Y	FLORIDA					6 O'Brien	Y	N	Y	Y	2 Natcher	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Johnson	N	N	Y	Y	2 Bennett	N	Y	Y	Y	2 O'Hara	Y	N	Y	Y	7 Perkins	Y	N	Y	Y
11 McFall	Y	N	Y	Y	4 Fascell	Y	N	Y	Y	11 Pucinski	N	N	Y	Y	5 Spence	Y	N	Y	Y
1 Miller (C.W.)	N	N	Y	Y	7 Haley	N	Y	Y	N	8 Rostenkowski	Y	N	Y	Y	1 Strublefield	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Miller (G.P.)	?	N	Y	?	5 Herlong	Y	Y	Y	N	9 Yates	Y	N	Y	Y	6 Watts	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Moss	Y	N	Y	Y	8 Matthews	Y	Y	Y	N	13 Church	N	Y	Y	Y	8 Siler	N	Y	Y	N
29 Saud	Y	N	Y	Y	6 Rogers	N	Y	Y	Y	10 Collier	N	Y	Y	Y	LOUISIANA				
5 Shelley	N	N	Y	Y	3 Sikes	N	Y	Y	Y	INDIANA					2 Boggs	Y	N	Y	?
27 Sheppard	Y	X	Y	Y	1 Cramer	N	Y	Y	N	11 Barr	Y	N	Y	Y	4 Brooks	N	Y	Y	N
12 Sisk	Y	N	Y	Y	GEORGIA					10 Harman	N	N	Y	Y	1 Hebert	Y	Y	Y	✓
6 Baldwin	Y	N	Y	Y	8 Blitch	N	✓	?	Y	9 Hogan	N	N	Y	Y	8 McSweeney	N	Y	Y	?
10 Gubser	N	Y	Y	Y	10 Brown	Y	Y	Y	Y	1 Madden	N	N	Y	Y					
4 Mailliard	Y	N	Y	Y	5 Davis	N	✓	Y	Y	5 Roush	N	N	Y	Y					
13 Teague	Y	Y	Y	N	4 Flynt	-	Y	N	Y	6 Wampler	N	N	Y	Y					
28 Utt	N	Y	?	N	3 Forrester	N	Y	Y	Y	4 Adair	?	Y	Y	N					
30 Wilson	N	Y	Y	Y	9 Landrum	N	Y	Y	?	7 Bray	Y	Y	Y	N					
9 Younger	N	✓	✓	N	7 Mitchell	Y	N	Y	?	2 Halleck	Y	Y	Y	Y					
Los Angeles County					2 Pilcher	?	Y	N	Y										
23 Doyle	Y	N	Y	Y	1 Preston	N	Y	Y	?										
19 Holifield	N	N	Y	?	6 Vinson	Y	?	?	?										

Democrats in this type; Republicans in italics

Key Votes - 6

7 8 9 10					7 8 9 10					7 8 9 10					7 8 9 10				
6 Morrison	?	N	Y	✓	NEBRASKA					7 Lennon	N	Y	Y	Y	6 McMillan	N	Y	Y	N
5 Passman	N	Y	Y	N	3 Brock	N	Y	Y	N	5 Scott	-	Y	Y	Y	2 Riley	Y	Y	Y	N
7 Thompson	?	N	Y	?	4 McGinley	N	Y	N	N	11 Whitener	N	Y	Y	Y	1 Rivers	Y	Y	Y	N
3 Willis	N	Y	Y	Y	2 Cunningham	N	Y	Y	N	10 Jonas	N	Y	Y	Y	SOUTH DAKOTA				
MAINE					1 Weaver	N	Y	Y	N	NORTH DAKOTA					1 McGovern	N	N	Y	Y
2 Coffin	Y	N	Y	N	NEVADA					AL Burdick	X	N	Y	†	2 Berry	Y	Y	N	N
1 Oliver	Y	N	Y	?	AL Boring	N	N	Y	?	AL Short	N	Y	N	Y	TENNESSEE				
3 McIntire	Y	Y	N	N	NEW HAMPSHIRE					OHIO					6 Bass	Y	N	Y	Y
MARYLAND					2 Bass	Y	Y	N	Y	9 Ashley	Y	N	Y	Y	9 Davis	Y	Y	Y	?
2 Brewster	N	N	Y	Y	1 Merrow	Y	N	Y	Y	11 Cook	N	N	Y	Y	8 Everett	N	Y	Y	Y
4 Fallon	Y	N	Y	N	NEW JERSEY					20 Feighan	Y	N	Y	Y	4 Evins	?	Y	Y	N
6 Foley	Y	N	Y	Y	11 Addonizio	Y	N	Y	Y	18 Hays	N	N	Y	Y	3 Frazier	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Friedel	N	N	Y	Y	14 Daniels	Y	N	Y	N	19 Kirwan	Y	N	Y	?	5 Loser	Y	Y	Y	Y
3 Gormatz	N	N	Y	Y	13 Gallagher	Y	N	Y	N	17 Levering	N	N	Y	Y	7 Murray	Y	Y	N	?
1 Johnson	N	N	Y	Y	10 Rodino	Y	N	Y	Y	10 Moeller	N	N	Y	Y	2 Baker	Y	Y	N	N
5 Lankford	?	N	Y	Y	4 Thompson	Y	N	Y	N	6 Vacancy					1 Reece	Y	Y	N	N
MASSACHUSETTS					3 Auchincloss	Y	Y	Y	N	21 Vanik	Y	N	Y	Y	TEXAS				
2 Boland	Y	N	Y	Y	1 Cabill	Y	Y	Y	Y	14 Ayres	Y	Y	Y	Y	3 Beckworth	Y	Y	Y	Y
13 Burke	N	N	Y	N	8 Canfield	✓	N	Y	Y	13 Baumgart	Y	Y	Y	?	2 Brooks	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Donohue	N	N	Y	Y	6 Dwyer	Y	N	Y	Y	8 Betts	Y	Y	Y	Y	17 Burleson	N	Y	Y	N
7 Lane	N	N	Y	Y	5 Frelinghuysen	Y	N	Y	Y	22 Bolton	Y	Y	Y	Y	22 Casey	N	Y	Y	N
8 Macdonald	N	N	Y	Y	2 Glenn	Y	N	Y	N	16 Bow	N	Y	Y	Y	7 Dowdy	N	Y	Y	N
12 McCormack	Y	N	Y	Y	9 Osmer	N	N	Y	N	7 Brown	Y	Y	Y	Y	21 Fisher	N	Y	Y	Y
11 O'Neill	N	N	Y	N	12 Wallbauser	Y	N	Y	Y	12 Devine	N	Y	Y	N	13 Ikard	Y	Y	Y	?
3 Philbin	N	N	Y	Y	7 Widnall	Y	N	Y	Y	15 Henderson	N	Y	Y	N	20 Kilday	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Bates	Y	N	Y	Y	NEW MEXICO					2 Hess	Y	Y	N	?	15 Kilgore	N	Y	Y	Y
1 Conte	N	N	Y	N	AL Montoya	N	N	Y	Y	5 Latta	Y	Y	Y	Y	19 Mahan	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Curtis	Y	Y	N	N	AL Morris	N	Y	Y	Y	4 McCulloch	Y	Y	Y	Y	1 Patman	N	Y	Y	Y
9 Keith	Y	N	Y	Y	NEW YORK					23 Minsball	N	Y	✓	N	11 Poage	N	Y	N	N
14 Martin	?	Y	Y	?	41 Dulski	Y	N	Y	Y	3 Schenck	Y	Y	Y	Y	4 Rayburn	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Rogers*	N	N	Y	?	30 O'Brien	Y	N	Y	N	1 Scherer	N	Y	N	Y	18 Rogers	Y	Y	N	N
MICHIGAN					32 Stratton	Y	Y	Y	Y	OKLAHOMA					16 Rutherford	N	Y	Y	Y
7 O'Hara	Y	N	Y	Y	27 Barry	Y	Y	Y	Y	3 Albert	Y	N	Y	Y	6 Teague	N	Y	Y	Y
12 Bennett	Y	N	Y	Y	3 Becker	Y	Y	Y	N	2 Edmondson	Y	X	Y	Y	8 Thomas	N	Y	N	?
8 Bentley	N	✓	X	Y	2 Derounian	Y	Y	Y	N	5 Jarman	N	Y	Y	Y	9 Thompson	N	Y	Y	Y
18 Broomfield	Y	Y	Y	N	26 Dooley	Y	Y	Y	N	6 Morris	?	?	✓	Y	10 Thornberry	Y	Y	Y	Y
10 Cederberg	Y	Y	N	N	33 Kilburn	Y	N	Y	X	4 Stead	±	±	±	Y	12 Wright	N	Y	Y	Y
6 Chamberlain	N	Y	Y	N	40 Miller	✓	Y	Y	N	1 Belcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	14 Young	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Ford	Y	Y	N	Y	39 Ostertag	Y	Y	Y	N	OREGON					5 Alger	Y	Y	N	N
9 Griffin	Y	Y	N	Y	42 Pillion	Y	Y	Y	Y	3 Green	N	N	Y	N	UTAH				
4 Hoffman	N	Y	N	N	34 Pirnie	Y	Y	Y	N	4 Porter	Y	N	Y	Y	2 King	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Johansen	N	Y	Y	Y	43 Goodell	Y	Y	Y	N	2 Ullman	Y	Y	Y	Y	1 Dixon	Y	Y	Y	Y
11 Knox	Y	Y	Y	Y	35 Riehlman	Y	Y	Y	N	1 Norblad	Y	Y	Y	Y	VERMONT				
2 Meader	Y	Y	Y	Y	37 Robison	N	Y	N	N	PENNSYLVANIA					AL Meyer	N	N	Y	Y
Detroit-Wayne County					28 St. George	±	Y	N	N	25 Clark	N	N	Y	Y	VIRGINIA				
13 Diggs	N	N	Y	Y	36 Taber	Y	Y	Y	N	21 Dent	N	N	Y	Y	4 Abbitt	N	Y	Y	N
15 Dingell	Y	N	Y	Y	31 Taylor	✓	N	Y	X	11 Flood	Y	N	Y	Y	1 Downing	Y	Y	Y	Y
17 Griffiths	Y	N	Y	Y	1 Wainwright	Y	Y	Y	N	28 Holland	Y	N	Y	Y	3 Gary	Y	Y	Y	Y
16 Lesinski	Y	N	Y	Y	38 Weis	✓	Y	Y	N	30 Moorhead	Y	N	Y	Y	2 Hardy	Y	Y	Y	Y
1 Machrowicz	N	N	Y	Y	29 Wharton	N	Y	N	N	26 Morgan	N	N	Y	Y	7 Harrison	Y	Y	Y	Y
14 Rabaut	X	N	Y	Y	New York City					10 Prokop	N	N	Y	Y	9 Jennings	Y	Y	Y	Y
MINNESOTA					8 Anfuso	Y	N	Y	Y	19 Quigley	Y	N	Y	Y	8 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y
8 Blatnik	Y	N	Y	Y	24 Buckley	±	X	✓	Y	14 Rhodes	-	N	Y	Y	5 Tuck	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Karth	N	N	Y	Y	11 Celler	Y	N	Y	Y	15 Walter	Y	N	Y	Y	10 Brodyhill	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Marshall	Y	Y	Y	Y	7 Delaney	Y	N	Y	Y	17 Schu. oeli	Y	Y	N	Y	6 Poff	N	Y	N	N
3 Wier	N	N	Y	Y	23 Gilbert	?	N	Y	Y	29 Corbett	N	N	Y	Y	WASHINGTON				
7 Andersen	N	Y	Y	Y	19 Farbstein	±	N	Y	Y	8 Curtin	Y	Y	Y	Y	7 Magnuson	N	N	Y	?
1 Quie	Y	Y	N	N	22 Healey	Y	N	Y	Y	9 Dague	N	Y	N	N	5 Horan	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Judd	Y	Y	N	N	6 Holtzman	Y	N	Y	Y	12 Fenton	N	Y	Y	N	3 Vacancy				
9 Langen	Y	Y	N	N	10 Kelly	Y	N	Y	Y	27 Fulton	N	N	Y	Y	4 May	Y	Y	Y	N
2 Nelson	Y	Y	N	N	9 Keogh	Y	X	✓	Y	23 Gavin	N	Y	Y	Y	1 Pelly	N	Y	Y	Y
MISSISSIPPI					13 Multer	N	N	Y	Y	24 Kearns	N	Y	Y	Y	6 Tollefson	N	N	Y	N
1 Abernethy	N	Y	Y	N	16 Powell	?	N	?	?	13 Lafore	Y	Y	N	N	2 Westland	Y	Y	Y	N
6 Colmer	N	Y	N	N	14 Rooney	Y	N	Y	Y	7 Milkien	Y	Y	N	Y	WEST VIRGINIA				
3 Smith	Y	Y	Y	N	18 Santangelo	Y	N	Y	Y	16 Mumma	Y	Y	N	Y	3 Bailey	N	N	Y	Y
2 Whitten	N	Y	Y	N	20 Teller	Y	N	Y	Y	22 Saylor	N	Y	Y	Y	4 Hechler	N	N	Y	Y
4 Williams	X	Y	Y	N	21 Zelenko	Y	N	Y	Y	18 Vacancy					5 Kee	N	N	Y	Y
5 Winstead	X	Y	Y	N	5 Bosch	Y	Y	Y	N	20 Van Zandt	N	Y	Y	N	6 Slack	N	N	Y	Y
MISSOURI					12 Dorn	N	N	Y	N	Philadelphie					2 Staggers	N	N	Y	Y
5 Bolling	Y	N	Y	?	25 Fino	N	N	Y	N	1 Barrett	N	N	Y	Y	1 Moore	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Brown	Y	N	Y	Y	4 Halpern	-	N	Y	Y	3 Byrne	Y	N	Y	Y	WISCONSIN				
9 Cannon	Y	N	Y	Y	17 Lindsay	Y	N	Y	N	2 Granahan	Y	N	Y	Y	1 Flynn	N	N	Y	Y
8 Carnahan	✓	?	Y	Y	15 Ray	Y	Y	N	N	5 Green	Y	N	Y	Y	9 Johnson	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Randall	N	N	Y	Y	NORTH CAROLINA					4 Nix	Y	N	Y	Y	2 Kastenmeier	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Hull	N	Y	N	N	9 Alexander	N	Y	Y	Y	6 Toll	Y	N	Y	Y	5 Reuss	N	N	Y	Y
10 Jones	N	Y	Y	Y	3 Barden	N	Y	Y	?	RHODE ISLAND					4 Zablocki	N	N	Y	Y
1 Karsten	Y	N	Y	Y	1 Bonner	N	Y	Y	Y	2 Fogarty	N	N	Y	Y	8 Byrnes	Y	Y	N	N
11 Moulder	N	N	Y	Y	4 Cooley	Y	Y	Y	Y	1 Forand	Y	N	Y	?	7 Laird	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Sullivan	Y	N	Y	Y	6 Durham	±	Y	Y	Y	SOUTH CAROLINA					10 O'Konski	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Curtis	Y	Y	N	N	2 Fountain	Y	Y	Y	Y	4 Ashmore	N	Y	Y	Y	6 Van Pelt	Y	Y	Y	Y
MONTANA					12 Taylor†					3 Dorn	N	Y	N	N	3 Withrow	X	?	Y	?
2 Anderson	N	?	Y	Y	8 Kitchin	N	Y	Y	Y	5 Hemphill	N	Y	Y	Y	WYOMING				
1 Metcalf	±	N	Y	Y											AL Thomson	N	Y	N	N

†Rep. Quentin Burdick (D N.D.) elected to the Senate June 28, was sworn in Aug. 8.

†Rep. Roy A. Taylor (D N.C.) was sworn in July 2, succeeding David M. Hall who died Jan. 29.

*Rep. Edith Nourse Rogers (R Pa.) died Sept. 10, 1960.

Democrats in this type; Republicans in *italics*

President Unperturbed by Setbacks in 1960

As Dwight D. Eisenhower neared the end of his eight-year tenure in the White House, the heavy responsibilities of the Presidency were very much on the Nation's mind as the voters prepared to choose his successor. Whether that honor passed to Vice President Nixon or to Sen. Kennedy, one thing appeared certain: either man would bring to the office a will to aggressive political leadership that was often lacking in his predecessor.

For President Eisenhower, the 1960 session of Congress was something less than successful. His sixth and final year of dealing with a Democratic-controlled legislature also proved to be the least rewarding of his Administration. Of 183 specific legislative requests tabulated by Congressional Quarterly, only 56 were approved by Congress for a score of 30.6 percent, the lowest in eight years. One explanation: many of his requests were for action previously sought and again denied.

Vetoes. The President was somewhat more successful, however, in blocking or discouraging the passage of legislation he considered distasteful. Many such measures were emasculated, derailed, or pigeonholed along the way, through the efforts of a conservative coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans. Of those that reached his desk, he vetoed 24 public and private bills, bringing his eight-year total to 181. And of three attempts to override only one was successful, when a majority of GOP Members deserted the President to help enact an election-year pay raise for postal workers and other federal employees. (See Key Votes, p. 21)

None of the President's 44,542 nominations of officers in the armed forces (40,248), postmasters (1,696), and civilian officials (2,598) was rejected by the Senate, which had turned thumbs down on Lewis L. Strauss in 1959. But 993 of the nominations went unconfirmed, as the battle for the Presidency and the spoils drew nigh. Among those passed over: six appointees to the federal regulatory agencies, whose confirmations would have delayed the re-establishment of Democratic majorities in the event of Democratic victory in November.

Foreign Policy: As had been expected, the man who had pledged that he would go anywhere at any time in the interests of world peace was greatly preoccupied with the problems of foreign policy in 1960. As the year opened, the President was planning trips to South America, to a summit conference in Paris, to the Soviet Union and to the Far East -- all in the sincere hope of advancing the cause of peace before leaving office.

Only one of these missions was fated to take place as planned -- a 10-day swing through South

America beginning Feb. 23. The May 16 encounter at the summit collapsed amid the shambles of the U-2 affair (see p. 3). Premier Khrushchev's withdrawal of his invitation to visit Russia forced a change in itinerary for the President's trip to the Far East, which began June 12. Four days later, another revision became necessary when the Japanese Government was forced to ask him not to come to Tokyo (see p. 5).

The President's critics in Congress drew disparaging conclusions from these diplomatic reverses, but he accepted both in stride, embracing the view (expressed by Secretary of State Herter) that "the basic conditions of the world situation have not so far been greatly changed." To keep it that way, the President gave strong backing to an apparently successful effort, organized by the United Nations, to neutralize a turbulent situation in the Congo. He also exerted direct and partially fruitful pressure on Congress, during its post-convention session, to restore funds cut from the Mutual Security Program (see p. 2).

Domestic Issues: The President vigorously disputed the argument that the apparent prosperity of the U.S. economy was not sound or sufficient. To Democratic assertions of the need for greater economic growth (to be stimulated by increased public investment in education, housing and other welfare areas), he responded with expressions of faith in the nation's economy and in the guiding principles of a sound dollar, balanced budget, and limited government.

Over the years, his early vision of driving federal expenditures down to \$60 billion a year had proved a chimera, as spending climbed relentlessly to the \$80 billion level. That experience served to reinforce his dedication to a conservative view of fiscal and monetary policy, one to which he adhered no less adamantly in 1960 than before. Defeated early in the session on his request for authority to raise interest rates on Treasury bonds, he nevertheless repeated the request in August despite the fact that money rates were still falling.

Approaching his 70th birthday on Oct. 14, President Eisenhower remained in good health, undaunted by the cares of his office and confident in his judgment. For his successor, he had arranged a potentially significant legacy: a blueprint of national goals, to be drafted by a committee headed by Dr. Henry M. Wriston and completed before the end of his term on Jan. 20, 1961. Proposed by the President in 1959, the project encompassed the very issues around which the voters would make their decisions on Nov. 8.

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For full background and details, see the CQ Weekly Report and CQ Almanac in your library.



Election-Bound As the 86th Congress closed up shop Sept. 1, an "ordeal by ballot" awaited 28 Senators and 404 Representatives seeking re-election Nov. 8 to the 87th Congress. Electing to retire instead were 24 of their colleagues, including these 20-year veterans: Sens. James E. Murray (D Mont.), Theodore Francis Green (D R.I.), Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D Wyo.), and Reps. Leo E. Allen (R Ill.), Paul Brown (D Ga.), William E. Hess (R Ohio), Graham A. Barden (D N.C.), Edward H. Rees (R Kan.), Carl T. Durham (D N.C.), Aime J. Forand (D R.I.), Gordon Canfield (R N.J.), and Gardner R. Withrow (R Wis.).

The Rule Book

Frustrated at every turn by a conservative coalition, liberals were talking at adjournment of making another stab in January at trimming the powers of the House Rules Committee and revising a number of Senate rules. Only twice in 1960 were they able to bypass the Rules Committee, using the Calendar Wednesday procedure to call up a depressed area bill, later vetoed, and a discharge petition signed by 219 Members to open the way for passage of a pay raise bill, later enacted over the President's veto. But when the civil rights bill was being filibustered in the Senate, the liberals couldn't muster even a majority (much less the required two-thirds) to invoke cloture under Rule 22 and shut off debate.

Crusader John

Newspaper reports of fancy-free spending by some junketing Members helped Sen. John J. Williams (R Del.) to win his long crusade for an itemized public accounting of both dollars and foreign currencies spent by individual Members and their staff assistants when on official travel. The new rule, long opposed by the House, was written into the 1961 legislative appropriations act. The House also bowed to another Williams crusade, when it accepted a Senate amendment to a ship-subsidy bill banning free or cut-rate passage on U.S. merchant ships for Members and other officials.

Vital Statistics

The Senate met the same number of days (140) in 1960 as in 1959, but managed to stay in session 179 hours longer thanks to those round-the-clock talkathons on civil rights. The House, meeting almost as often (124 days), got its work done in less than half as much time -- 512 hours to 1,189 hours. All told, Members introduced 20,164 bills and other measures in 1959 and 1960. About 4 percent of these (800) became public laws.

Death Toll

Two weeks after adjournment death had claimed seven Members of the 86th Congress in 1960. Those who died, and the dates of their deaths: Sens. Richard L. Neuberger (D Ore.), March 9, and Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D Mo.), Sept. 13; and Reps. Richard M. Simpson (R Pa.), Jan. 7; David M. Hall (D N.C.), Jan. 29; Russell V. Mack (R Wash.), March 28; Douglas H. Elliott (R Pa.), June 19; and Edith Nourse Rogers (R Mass.), Sept. 10, after 35 years in office.

Probes Away!

Congressional investigators looked into all sorts of closets in 1960 but their disclosures made few headlines. The House Legislative Oversight Subcommittee established the fact that "payola" was rampant in broadcasting and helped to persuade John C. Doerfer to resign from the FCC, but no one turned up anything to match the "imprudence" of Sherman Adams in 1958. Shortly after adjournment, however, two House committees were sinking their teeth into the case of two National Security Agency defectors who turned up in Moscow on Sept. 6.

Contumacious

No one objected when the House voted Aug. 23 to cite Consuelo Burgoon De Saez Pagan and 12 other Puerto Ricans for contempt of Congress, arising from their refusal to answer questions before the Un-American Activities Committee. But when it came to citing S. Sloan Colt, chairman of the Port of New York Authority, for refusing to furnish records subpoenaed by the Antitrust Subcommittee, the House split 270-124 in the face of a nice legal question of states' rights. Whether the citation would hold up in court, however, remained to be seen. (See House Roll Call No. 10, p. 26)

